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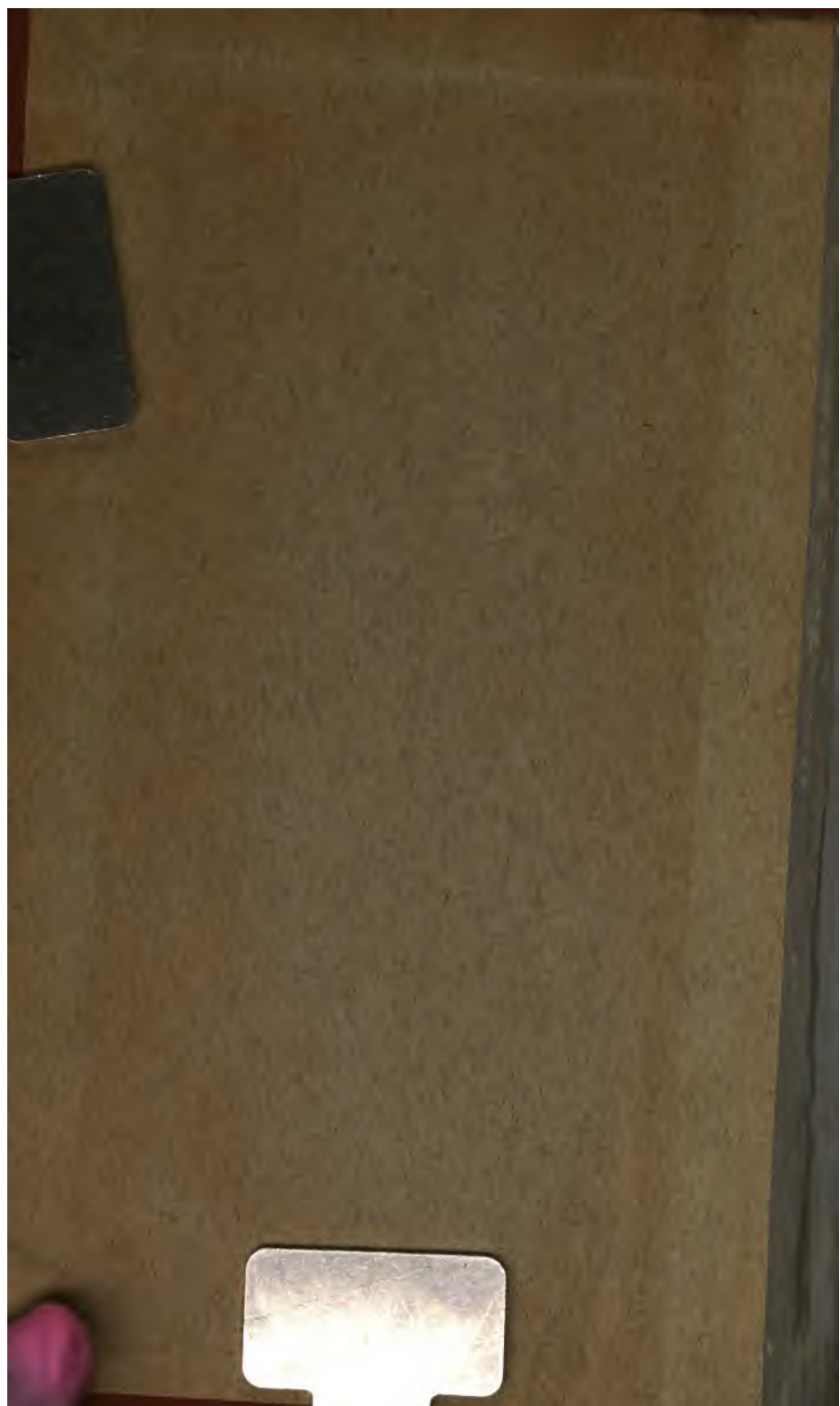
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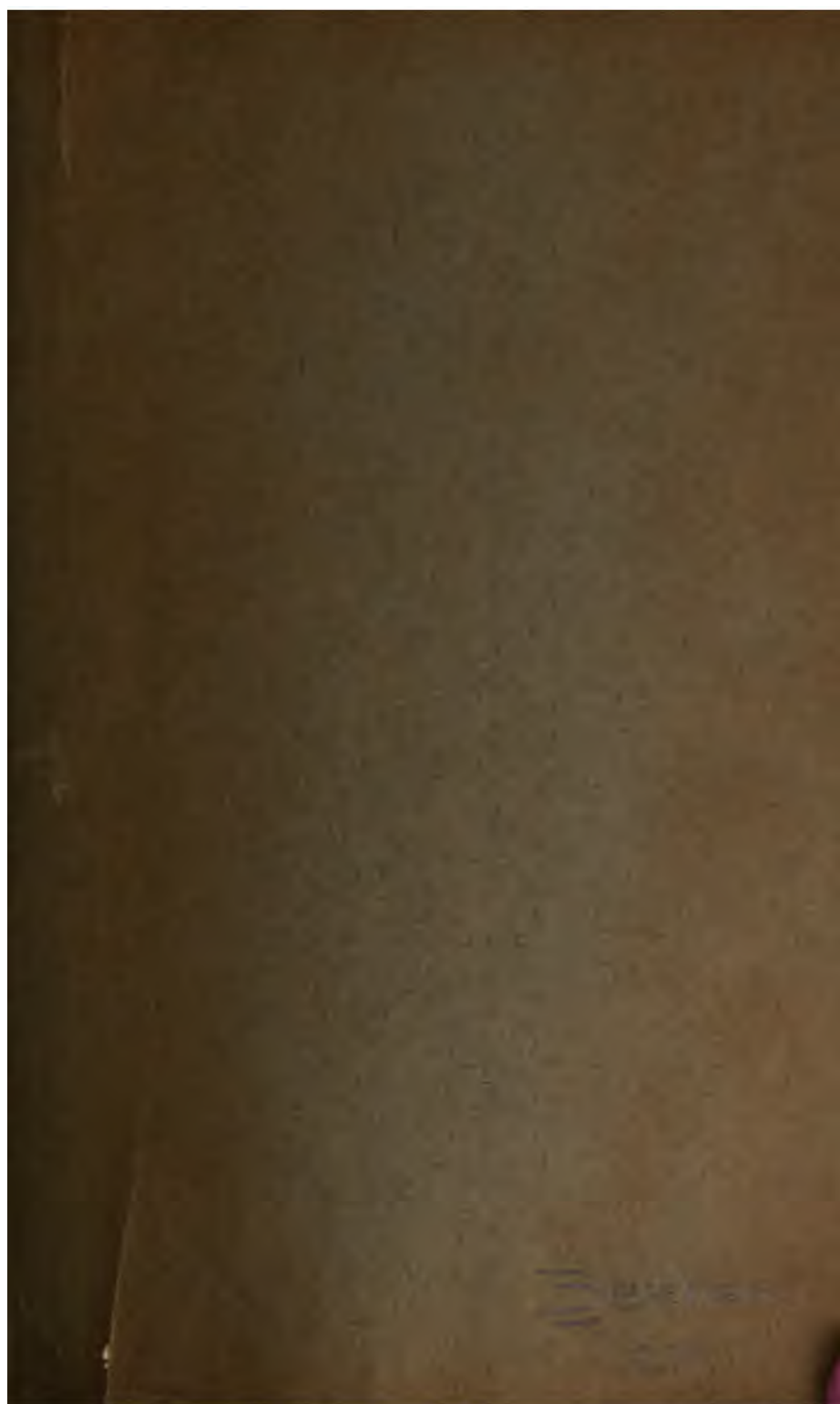
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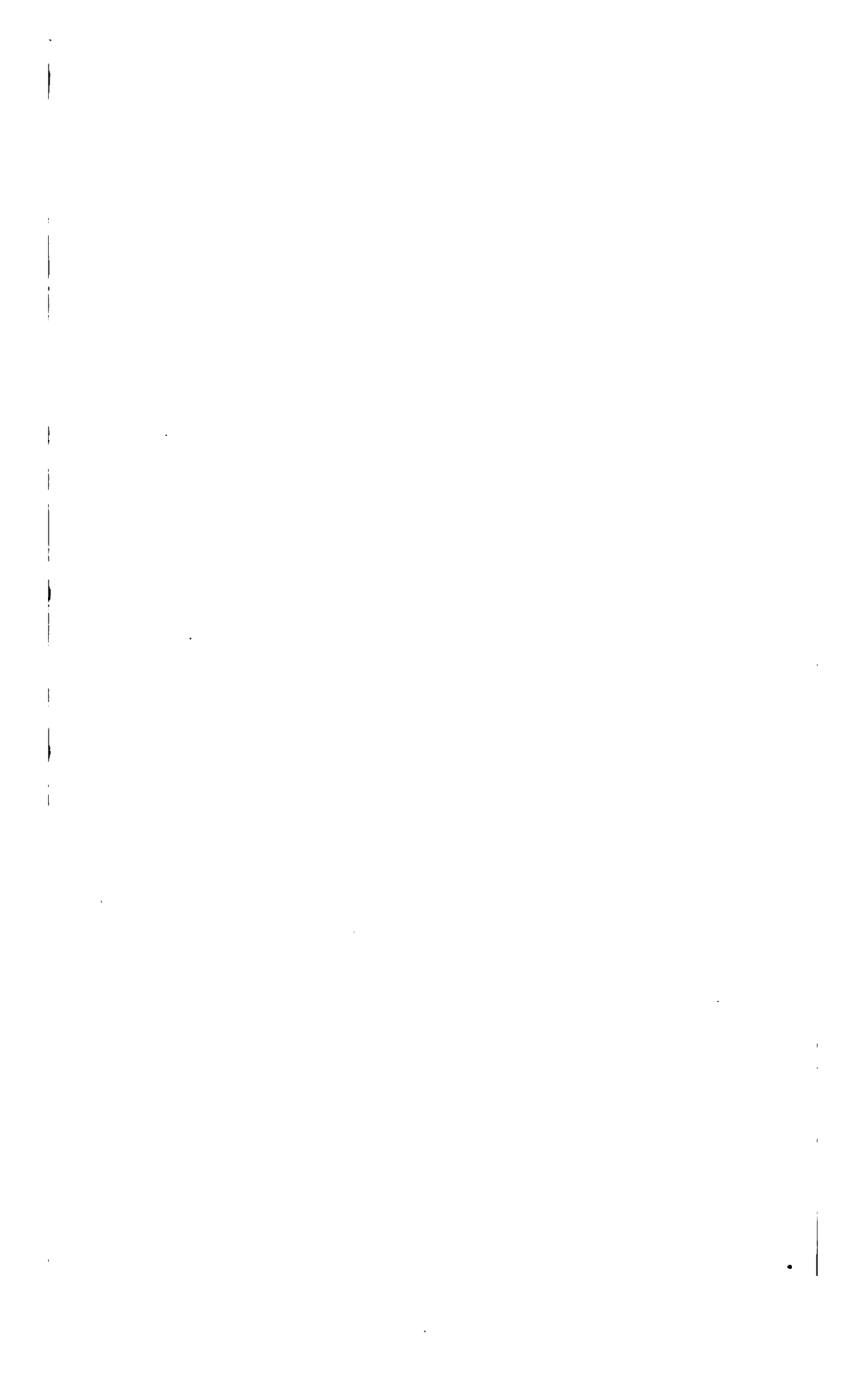
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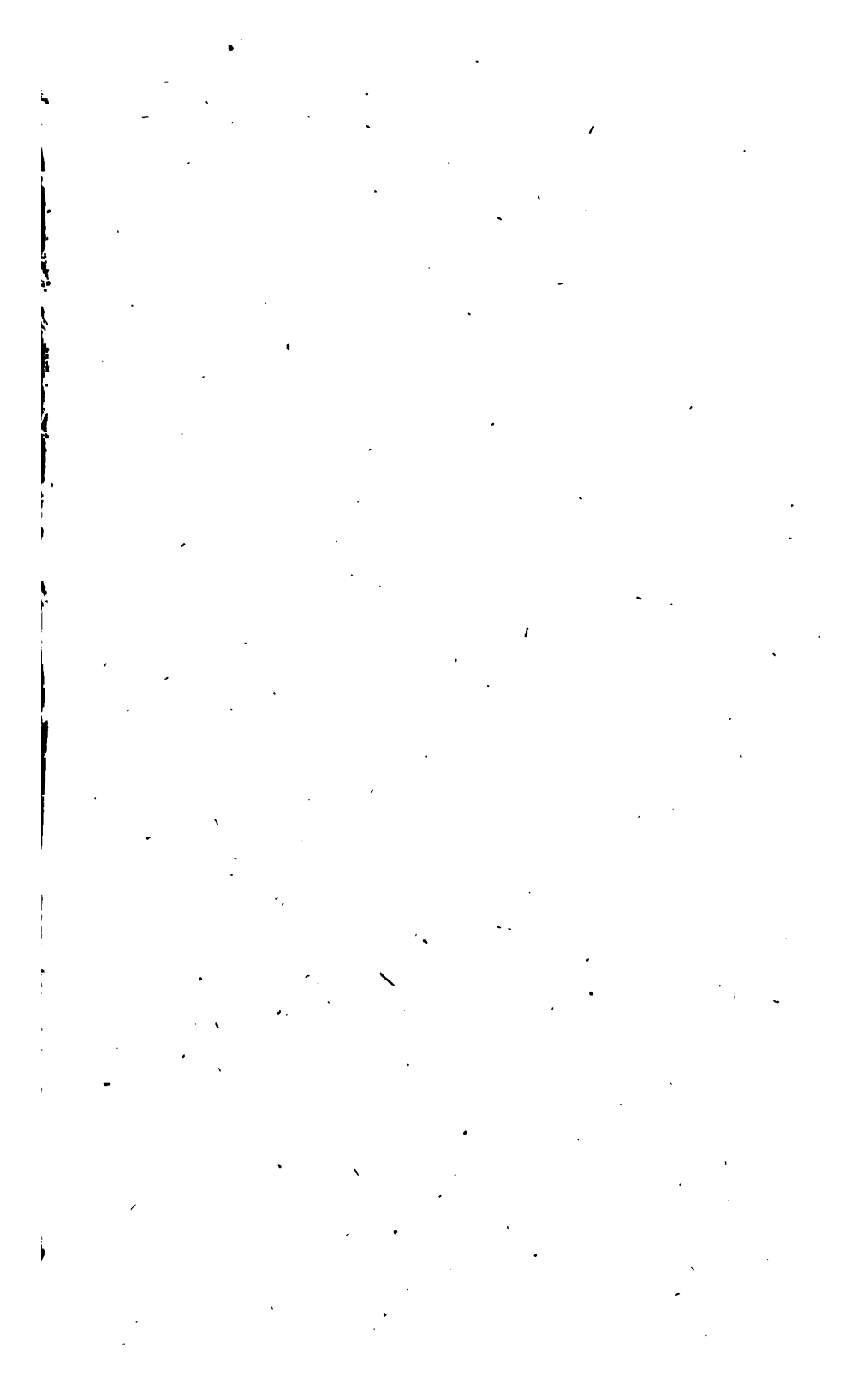
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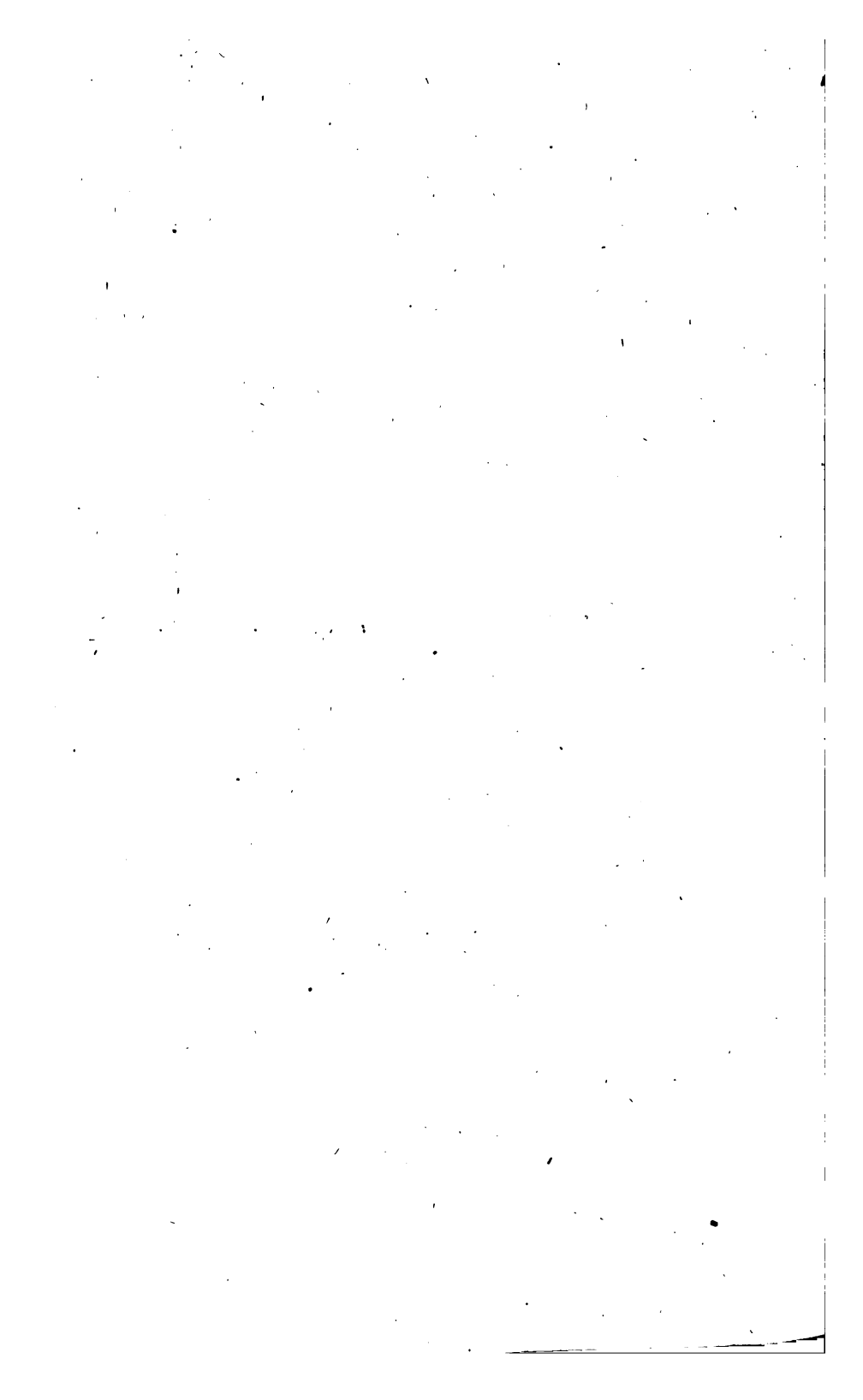
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO THE

SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

ENDING A.D. 1793.

BY *W. BELSHAM.*

VOL. II.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK IV.

	Page
<i>REVIEW of American Transactions</i> - - - -	1
<i>Petition of the Massachusetts Assembly to the King</i> - -	34
<i>New Modification of the American Tea Duty</i> - -	38
<i>Tumults consequent thereupon in the Colonies</i> - -	40
<i>Session of Parliament — Boston Port Bill</i> - - -	44—7
<i>Bill for Subverting the Charter of Massachusetts</i> - -	49
<i>Bill for the Subversion of the Judicial Power in the Province of Massachusetts</i> - - - -	53
<i>Bill for the Establishment of Despotism in Canada</i> - -	58
<i>Speech of Lord Chatham on American Affairs</i> - -	60
<i>Motion for the Repeal of the Duty on Tea</i> - - -	63
<i>Supported by Mr. Burke—His Character</i> - - -	65
<i>Proceedings in America—General Congress convened at Philadelphia</i> - - - -	70
<i>First Petition of Congress to the King</i> - - -	78
<i>Memorable Speech of Lord Chatham on moving to withdraw the Troops from Boston</i> - - -	92
<i>Petitions presented to Parliament against the War</i> - -	102
<i>Parliament refuses to hear Evidence on the Congress's Petition</i> - - - -	103
<i>Lord Chatham's Bill for settling the Troubles in America</i> -	104
<i>America declared to be in Rebellion</i> - - -	108

	Page
<i>Fishery and Restraining Bills passed</i> - - -	113
<i>Lord North's Conciliatory Proposition</i> - - -	114
<i>Mr. Burke's Conciliatory Proposition</i> - - -	119
<i>Mr. Hartley's Conciliatory Proposition</i> - - -	123
<i>Petition to the King from the City of London, presented by Mr. Wilkes, Lord Mayor</i> - - -	ib.
<i>Trivial Concessions granted to Ireland</i> - - -	125
<i>Application to Parliament from the Province of New York</i> - - -	ib.
<i>Hostilities commenced at Lexington</i> - - -	130
<i>Lord North's Plan of Conciliation rejected by the Congress</i>	133
<i>Battle of Bunker's Hill</i> - - -	137
<i>Second Petition of Congress to the King</i> - - -	141
<i>The King refuses to answer it</i> - - -	143
<i>American Invasion of Canada</i> - - -	ib.
<i>Conduct of the Indian Nations</i> - - -	150

BOOK V.

<i>SECOND Resignation of the Duke of Grafton</i> - - -	157
<i>Mr. Penn's Examination at the Bar of the House of Lords</i>	162
<i>Land-Tax raised to 4s.—Remarkable Prediction thereon</i>	164
<i>Mr. Burke's Bill for quieting the Troubles in America</i> -	168
<i>American Capture-Act passed</i> - - -	169
<i>Indulgences granted to the Province of Nova Scotia</i> - -	171
<i>Extravagant Overture made to Ireland</i> - - -	172
<i>Mr. Fox's Motion of Enquiry</i> - - -	174
<i>Treaties concluded with Hesse, &c.</i> - - -	176
<i>Duke of Grafton's Conciliatory Motion</i> - - -	178
<i>State of the Nation</i> - - -	181
<i>State of Europe</i>	192
<i>Death of Louis XV.</i>	199
<i>Accession of Louis XVI.—His Policy and Character</i> -	ib.
<i>Aspiring Views of the Queen—Her Character</i> - - -	200
<i>Conduct and Character of Pope Clement XIII.</i> - - -	204
<i>Accession</i>	

CONTENTS.

	vii
	Page
<i>Accession of Clement XIV. (Ganganelli)</i>	205
<i>Accession of Victor Amadeus King of Sardinia</i>	206
<i>War between Russia and Turkey</i>	212
<i>Death of the Grand Scignor Mustapha III.—Succeeded by Achmet IV.</i>	214
<i>First Partition of Poland</i>	ib.
<i>Death of Frederic V. King of Denmark.—His Character</i>	217
<i>Accession of Christian VII.—Court Revolution in Denmark</i>	ib.
<i>Accession of Gustavus III. King of Sweden—Sudden Revolution in the Government</i>	219
<i>Siege of Quebec raised</i>	224
<i>Unsuccessful Attack upon Charlestown</i>	225
<i>Declaration of American Independence</i>	229
<i>Victory on Long-Island</i>	236
<i>General Washington retreats across the Delaware</i>	244
<i>Reverse of Fortune at Trenton</i>	247
<i>The Jerseys evacuated</i>	250
<i>Spirited Proceedings of the Congress</i>	253
<i>Session of Parliament in 1776—Memorable Speech of the King</i>	254
<i>Conciliatory Motion of Lord John Cavendish</i>	257
<i>Secession of the Opposition</i>	261
<i>Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act</i>	262
<i>King's Debts a second Time paid</i>	265
<i>One Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum added to the Civil List</i>	ib.
<i>Remarkable Address of the Speaker to the King</i>	268
<i>Motion of Lord Chatham for Peace</i>	271
<i>Arrogant Conduct of Lord Stormont, Ambassador at Paris</i>	275
<i>Insolent Memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke to the States-General</i>	ib.

BOOK VI.

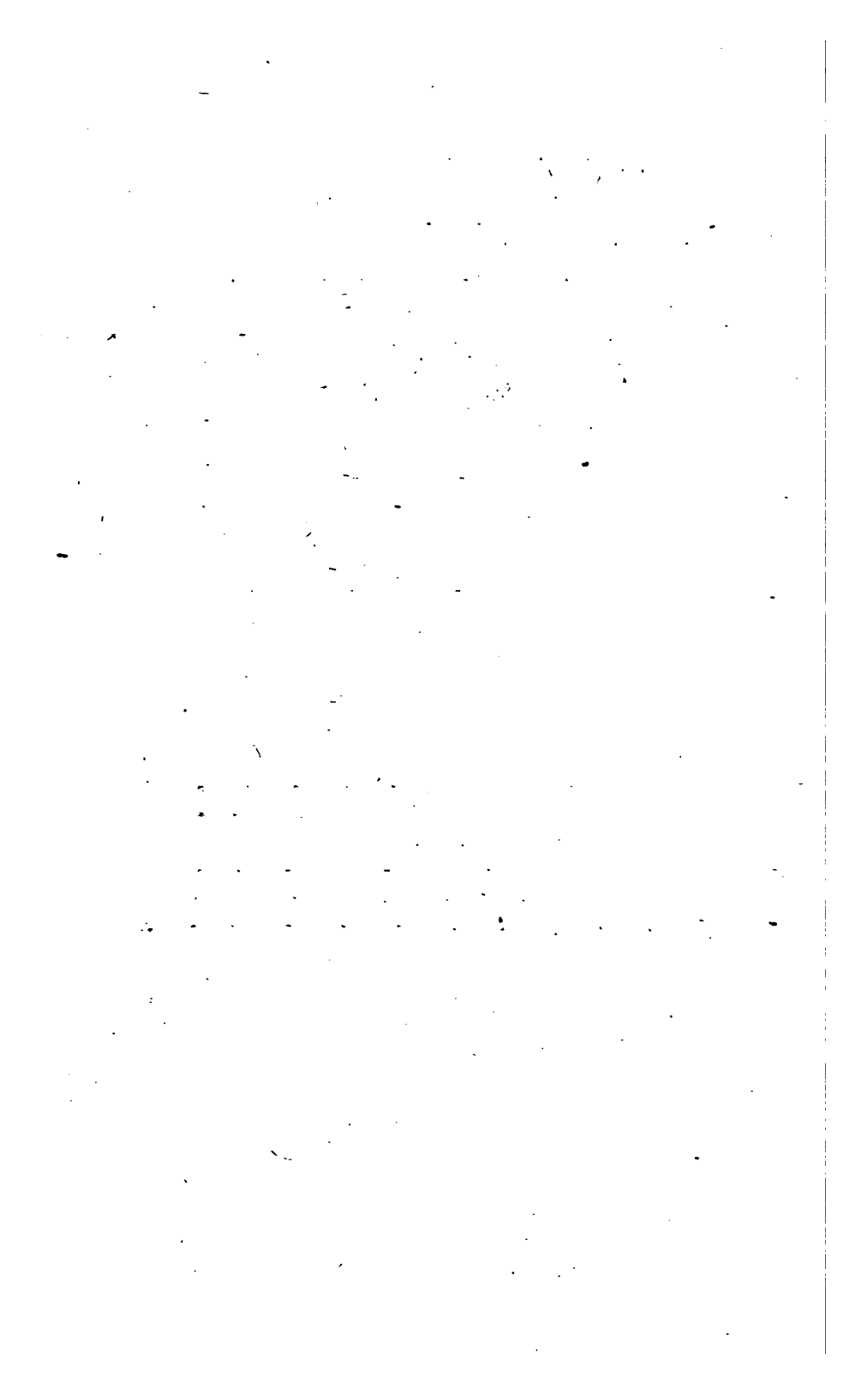
	Page
<i>MILITARY Operations in the Jerseys</i> - - -	280
<i>General Howe's Expedition to the Chesapeake</i> - - -	284
<i>Victory at the Brandy-Wine, and Capture of Philadelphia</i>	285
<i>Second Engagement at German-Town</i> - - -	286
<i>Success on Lake Champlain</i> - - -	289
<i>General Burgoyne takes Ticonderoga</i> - - -	293
<i>Arrives at the North River</i> - - -	295
<i>Disasters at Bennington and Fort Stanwix</i> - - -	296
<i>Distress and final Surrender of General Burgoyne's Army</i>	302
<i>Session of Parliament—Motion of Lord Chatham</i> -	305, 6
<i>Mr. Fox's second Motion of Enquiry</i> - - -	314
<i>Lord Chatham's Motion relative to the Canada Expedition</i>	317
<i>Proceedings of the Committee of Enquiry</i> - - -	321
<i>Lord North's second Plan of Conciliation</i> - - -	324
<i>Hostile Declaration of France</i> - - -	329
<i>Death of the Earl of Chatham</i> - - -	334, 5
<i>Discontents in Ireland</i> - - -	338
<i>Act for the Relief of the Roman-Catholics</i> - - -	340
<i>The Minority gains Strength and Popularity</i> - - -	342, 3
<i>Failure of Lord North's second Plan of Conciliation</i> -	344-7
<i>General Howe resigns his Command to Sir Henry Clinton</i>	348
<i>Battle of Monmouth Court-House—Disgrace of General</i>	
<i>Lee</i> - - -	350
<i>Arrival of the French Fleet off the Delaware</i> - - -	353
<i>Lord Howe's able Conduct and subsequent Resignation</i>	354, 5
<i>Count d'Estaing's unsuccessful Attack on St. Lucia</i> - -	356
<i>Destruction of the Settlements of Wyoming</i> - - -	357
<i>Conquest of Georgia under General Prevost</i> -- -	360
<i>Indecisive Engagements with the French off Ushant</i> - -	361, 2
<i>Trial and Acquittal of Admiral Keppel</i> - - -	365
<i>Trial and Disgrace of Sir Hugh Palliser</i> - - -	ib.
	Motion

CONTENTS.

ix

Page

<i>Motion of Lord Rockingham respecting the American Commissioners</i>	- - - - -	368
<i>Mr. Fox's successive Motions of Censure on Lord Sandwich</i>	- - - - -	370
<i>Bill for enlarging the Toleration Act</i>	- - - - -	371
<i>Memorable Speech of Shipley Bishop of St. Asaph</i>	- - - - -	ib.
<i>Ineffectual Efforts in Parliament for the Relief of Ireland</i>	- - - - -	376
<i>Motion of Mr. Fox for the Removal of Lord Sandwich</i>	- - - - -	ib.
<i>Committee of Enquiry respecting the American War</i>	- - - - -	ib.
<i>Motion of Lord Bristol for the Removal of the Earl of Sandwich</i>	- - - - -	377
<i>Hostile Declaration of Spain</i>	- - - - -	378
<i>Dissensions in the Cabinet</i>	- - - - -	379
<i>Lord Thurlow succeeds Lord Bathurst as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain</i>	- - - - -	384
<i>Invasion of South Carolina by General Prevost</i>	- - - - -	ib.
<i>Alternate Successes of the American and British Arms</i>	- - - - -	386
<i>Capture of St. Vincent's and Grenada by the French</i>	- - - - -	388-9
<i>Count d'Estaing repulsed at Savannah</i>	- - - - -	390
<i>Charlestown taken by Sir H. Clinton</i>	- - - - -	392
<i>Combined Fleets of France and Spain enter the Channel</i>	- - - - -	394
<i>Alarming Situation of Ireland</i>	- - - - -	395
<i>Serapis Man of War taken by Captain Paul Jones</i>	- - - - -	396
<i>Misunderstanding between the Courts of London and the Hague</i>	- - - - -	ib.
<i>Pondicherry captured by the English</i>	- - - - -	397
<i>Senegal taken by the French</i>	- - - - -	ib.



GEORGE III.

BOOK IV.

Review of American Transactions. Petition of the Massachusetts' Assembly to the King. New Modification of the American Tea Duty. Tumults consequent thereupon in the Colonies. Session of Parliament. Boston Port Bill. Bill for subverting the Charter of Massachusetts. Bill for the Subversion of the Judicial Power in the Province of Massachusetts. Bill for the Establishment of Despotism in Canada. Speech of Lord Chatham on American Affairs. Motion for the Repeal of the Duty on Tea—Supported by Mr. Burke—His Character. Proceedings in America. General Congress convened at Philadelphia. First Petition of the Congress to the King. Memorable Speech of Lord Chatham on moving to withdraw the Troops from Boston. Petitions presented to Parliament against the War, consigned to the Committee of Oblivion. Parliament refuses to hear Evidence on the Congress Petition. Lord Chatham's Bill for settling the Troubles in America REJECTED. America declared to be in Rebellion. Fishery and Restraining Bills passed. Lord North's conciliatory Propositions. Mr. Burke's conciliatory Propositions. Mr. Hartley's conciliatory Proposition. Petition to the King from the City of London, presented by Mr. Wilkes, Lord Mayor. Trivial Concessions granted to Ireland. Application to Parliament from the Province of New York rejected. Hostilities commenced at Lexington. Lord North's Propositions rejected by the Congress. Battle of Bunker's Hill. Second Petition of Congress to the King. The King refuses to answer it. American Invasion of Canada. General Howe abandons Boston. Conduct of the Indian Nations.

THE unfortunate disputes with the American colonies, revived by the imposition of the port duties in 1767, had since that fatal period suf-

ferred no interruption or abatement, though very much kept out of sight by those vehement domestic contests in which the English nation felt itself for the time more nearly interested, though of far less real and lasting importance. A general retrospective view of colonial politics will be necessary, to illustrate and introduce the momentous transactions of the succeeding years. In the act imposing the port duties on paper, glass, colors, teas, &c. passed A. D. 1767, was a remarkable clause, which gave scarcely less umbrage and alarm than the taxes themselves, empowering the crown by sign manual to establish a general CIVIL LIST throughout every province in America, to an indefinite extent, with any salaries, places, or appointments, to the very last shilling of the American revenue. The act indeed provided, that after all such ministerial warrants under the sign manual as are thought proper and necessary shall be *satisfied*, the residue of the revenue shall be at the disposal of parliament. But who, it was asked, can suppose such warrants *will* ever be *satisfied* till ministers have provided for all their friends and favorites? This mockery of an American revenue proves at last, said a member of the house (Mr. Hartley), to be only the crumbs that fall from the minister's table—the RESIDUE of a royal warrant countersigned by the first lord of the

the Treasury? The next step in the progress of the new system of American taxation was the establishment of an American board of commissioners, which, under the auspices of the chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Charles Townshend, passed into an act the same session. This board was fixed at Boston, where the commissioners arrived in the autumn of that year.

The non-importation agreement entered into by the colonies, in consequence of the rash and unadvised measures adopted by England, have been already noticed; but though they confined their *practical opposition* to their commercial combinations, they now began to indulge a boundless and dangerous licence of *speculative discussion* on the nature and extent of parliamentary power. Till this period they had, with a cheerfulness which precluded any deep or accurate investigation of right, admitted the exercise of a discretionary legislative authority in the parliament of Great Britain. They had admitted the distinction between raising money as the mere incidental produce of regulating duties, and for the direct purpose of revenue; but now they argued more boldly, and as speculatists more consistently, in saying, If the parliament of Great Britain has no right to tax us internally, they have none to tax us externally; and if they have no right to *tax* us without our consent,

they can have none to govern or to *legislate for us* without our consent. These reasonings, so natural and obvious in present circumstances, when the power of the mother country was, in the apprehension of every American, employed to the purposes of oppression, prove in a striking manner the unexampled folly of Great Britain, in risking the discussion of a right so problematic and precarious. The only just and solid basis of the authority of Great Britain over the colonies was that of common utility sanctioned by long prescription and universal acquiescence. But when the authority of Great Britain was exerted for her own separate advantage, in a manner unauthorized by custom, and unacknowledged by those over whom it was exercised by mere dint of superior force, it could in nothing be distinguished from tyranny, to which resistance and revolt only can be properly opposed. To attempt to govern a whole nation in a mode abhorrent from their feelings, principles, and prejudices, is a complication of folly and wickedness; and the councils of Great Britain at this period were governed by a spirit of infatuation, which it is difficult to analyse into any of the common principles of human action, and which excites our astonishment at least as strongly as our indignation or regret.

In January, 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts'

setts' Bay transmitted, by their speaker, a circular letter to the different colonies, in which they recommend to the respective colonial legislatures to take into joint consideration the measures it may be proper to adopt for the redress of their common grievances, particularly specifying the late acts imposing duties and taxes on America, and expressing their firm confidence in the king, their common head and father, that the united and dutiful supplications of his distressed American subjects will meet with his royal and favorable acceptance. No sooner was this known in England, than lord Hillsborough transmitted instructions to governor Bernard, in his majesty's name, so soon as the general court is again assembled, to require of the house of representatives "to RESCIND the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent from, that rash and hasty proceeding—at the same time strangely affirming the resolution in question to be unfair, contrary to the real sense of the assembly, and procured by surprise;" although it in fact passed almost unanimously in a very full house, after the most ample and deliberate discussion. In case of the refusal of the house to comply with this requisition, the governor was commanded immediately to dissolve the assembly, and to transmit

to his lordship an account of their transactions. This imperious demand was conceived precisely in the spirit of a mandate of the French king to his parliaments, but fortunately it could not be enforced by *lettres de cachet*. If French parliaments have been known resolutely to resist the will of the despot with the terrors of imprisonment, exile, and death before their eyes, it will easily be supposed that an assembly of men boasting their descent from ancestors whose garments were stained in the blood of tyrants were little likely to yield this abject submission. A committee of the house reported a letter to lord Hillsborough, in which the egregious misapprehension of his lordship, with regard to the mode in which the resolution had passed the house, was corrected; and the house then agreed on a message to the governor, in which they said—“It is to us incomprehensible that we should be required, on the peril of a dissolution of the general court, to rescind a resolution of a former house, when it is evident that that resolution has no existence but as a mere historical fact. Your excellency must know that the resolution is, to speak the language of the common law, not now executory, but to all intents and purposes executed. If, as is most probable, by the word *rescinding* is intended the passing a vote in direct and express disapprobation of the measure of
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the former house, we must take the liberty to testify, and publicly to declare, that we take it to be the native, inherent, and indefeasible right of the subject jointly or severally to petition the king for the redress of grievances. If the votes of the house are to be controlled by the directions of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you, that this house have voted NOT TO RESCIND; and that, on the division on the question, there were ninety-two yeas, and seventeen nays." The next day the governor dissolved the assembly. In the course of the debate which preceded this resolution, a member of the assembly said, "When lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, he should apply to parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britain rescind her measures, or she will lose America for ever."

At the same time that lord Hillsborough transmitted his majesty's high commands to sir Francis Bernard, he wrote a circular letter to the governors of the different provinces, in which, referring to the letter of the Massachusetts' assembly, his lordship said, "It is his majesty's PLEASURE that you should, immediately on the receipt hereof, exert your utmost influence to defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, by prevailing upon the as-

sembly of the province to take no notice of it; which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves." The contempt of the Americans was reserved however for the letter of his lordship; the assemblies throughout the continent highly applauding the conduct of the Massachusetts, and almost unanimously passing votes and resolves according with the spirit of the letter received from Boston. The assembly of New York in particular, whose principles were supposed most favorable to loyalty, answered it in the most respectful terms, and appointed a committee of correspondence to consult with the other colonies on the measures to be pursued in the present crisis; upon which that assembly also was dissolved. Orders also were transmitted by lord Hillsborough to governor Penn, to dissolve the assembly of Pennsylvania; his lordship, by a pleasant mistake, not recollecting it to be the established and chartered privilege of that house to sit on their own adjournments, and that the governor had no power to dissolve them.

In the midst of the ferment occasioned by these proceedings, a sloop, called the Liberty, laden with wine from Madeira, was seized under authority of the commissioners of the customs for a false entry; and being cut by force from her moorings, was by their order removed under the guns of the Romney, a ship of war lying in
the

the harbour of Boston. The minds of the populace being greatly inflamed, a violent riot ensued, in which the houses of the commissioners were assailed, their persons grossly insulted, and they were compelled to take refuge at first on board the Romney, and afterwards at the fortress adjacent to the town, called Castle William. It being now thought necessary by government, which disdained every idea of concession or retraction,, to station a considerable military and naval force at the town of Boston, orders were issued for that purpose, and also for repairing the fortress of Castle William. On receiving this intelligence, a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Boston was called, and an address presented by them to the governor, praying him in the most urgent terms to issue precepts forthwith for convening a general assembly ; but this his excellency declared he could not do without receiving his majesty's commands. The legality of the meeting also was peremptorily denied by the governor, who declared the conveners of it to be guilty of *an high offence*, admonishing them to consider the penalties they were incurring by continuing their session ; and he protested that, if they did not attend to this warning, he must assert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner ; adding, in a tone of menace,

“ that

“ that they may assure themselves, for he spoke from INSTRUCTION, that the KING was determined to maintain his ENTIRE SOVEREIGNTY over that province ; and whoever should persist in *usurping* any of the rights of it would RESENT his RASHNESS.” But the governor seemed not to recollect, that those who *usurp* the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE may be made to repent their RASHNESS, as well as those who invade the PREROGATIVE of the SOVEREIGN. A number of votes expressive of the agitation of the public mind were unanimously passed, and amongst them is a resolve, that those inhabitants who are not provided with arms be requested to furnish themselves forthwith. On the first of October, 1768, the troops landed under cover of a considerable fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of war of different descriptions, lying in the harbour of Boston, with their broadsides to the town ; and marching into this metropolis with bayonets fixed, drums beating, and colors flying, with a train of artillery accompanying them, the imagination of the inhabitants was impressed with all the ideas associated with the insolence of conquest and the horrors of military despotism.

In the ensuing month of February (1769) a joint address was moved and presented by both houses of parliament to the king, expressing their
satisfaction

satisfaction in the measures already pursued, and giving him the strongest assurances that they would support him in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws within the Massachusetts' Bay; and beseeching him to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information touching all TREASONS committed within that government since the 30th December 1767, and to transmit the same, with the names of the persons most active in the commission of such offences, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for hearing and determining the said offences within the realm, pursuant to the statute of the 35th year of Henry VIII." In reply his majesty assured them, "that he would not fail, in the mode they had recommended, to give the most effectual orders for bringing the authors of the late disorders in the province of Massachusetts to CONDIGN PUNISHMENT." Thus was an obsolete and, in its present application, horribly tyrannical statute of the most arbitrary of the English monarchs revived in the reign of George III. in the vain hope to subdue that unconquerable spirit of liberty in America, which only blazed the more fiercely and dangerously for the repeated attempts to overwhelm or extinguish

tinguish it *. "Consider well," said colonel Barré to the ministers, when the address was pending in the house of commons, "what you are doing. Why will you deceive yourselves and us? You know that it is not this or that place only that disputes your right, but every part. They tell you with one voice, from one end of the continent to the other, *that you have no right to tax America.*" Also upon this occasion, a most respectable member of the house (governor Pownall), who had formerly presided with high reputation over the province of Massachusetts, delivered his sentiments upon the present measure as a branch of the general system of American politics, in a speech replete with information and good sense; but which conveying by implication

* It is just to acknowledge that the act in question had originally no tyrannical, but on the contrary a very useful and beneficial tendency. By the 1st of Henry IV. c. 14. all treasons committed by persons abroad were to be tried before the constable and marshal. The act itself was passed in the parliament convened immediately previous to the king's expedition to Boulogne, twenty-three years subsequent to the death of the duke of Buckingham, last high-constable of England. So that had any treason been committed abroad by persons accompanying the king on that expedition, an absolute failure of justice must have ensued. To include, by a forced and preposterous construction, the colonies of North America in the scope of this statute was certainly a most unparalleled perversion of law and justice.

strong

strong reflections upon the past conduct, not only of ministers but of the legislative body itself, was heard by the house with manifest indications of impatience. The governor declared "that things were now evidently hastening to a crisis. The people of America and the king's troops were set in array against each other. The sword indeed was not yet drawn, but the hand was upon it. The slightest incident would suffice to involve the empire in confusion and bloodshed. With regard to the right or claim of taxation, where the whole spirit and bent of a people, who have the powers of government within themselves, is fixed and determined against the admission of such a claim, experience and common sense will evince that no civil power, no civil coercion, will ever avail to enforce it. No military power can do this. It may raise a contribution by military execution, but this is not GOVERNMENT, it is WAR. If the military are sent, not in aid of the civil magistrate, but to force him to act; if they are sent, not to obey his orders, but to take possession of his jurisdiction; this is not GOVERNMENT—it is a state of WAR. If you attempt to force taxes against the spirit of the people there, you will find too late that they are of a spirit that will resist force; which will grow stronger by being forced, and which will ultimately prove superior to all force. This spirit

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is not dead in them, it is only dormant; and should it once take fire, it will break out into a flame which no reason, no prudence, no force can restrain. Those people, whom Great Britain hath to this hour drawn as it were with a filken thread, she will find it in vain to attempt to rule with a rod of iron. If the house will not believe this at present, I request at least that they will remember it hath been said, and that they are forewarned of it. If then force will not and cannot produce the effect aimed at, there remains no other alternative than to adopt some mode of policy that will carry their consent along with it. But why do I talk of modes of policy, when the short way of force seems already adopted? Nevertheless, even under this discouragement, could I command the attention of the house, I would mark out that line of policy by which all may be again restored to peace and happiness. Wave all consideration of abstract questions—make no innovations in practice. Act in the government of the colonies as you have done, till the rage of experiment commenced, for one hundred and sixty years past. Manifest a disposition to relieve and amend whatever is injurious to the spirit of commerce, whatever is matter of real grievance, and all would be quiet as soon as a ship could arrive with the news in America. In a word, resume the spirit of your antient policy. I am founded
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when I say, this would restore again peace, order, and government. Let the matter of legislative supremacy rest in silence upon the declaratory law. America will understand that she is placed in the same line of administration with Ireland, and this will be better understood by avoiding explanations. Do nothing which may bring into discussion questions of right. Aim not to extend your power to new objects; and exercise the powers you have been accustomed to with prudence and moderation, and in the spirit of commercial wisdom. This mode of governing would cement again the union of the two countries: it would restore the spirit of obedience which the loss of authority on the one hand, and the loss of affection on the other, hath interrupted. Exert the spirit of policy, that you may not ruin the colonies and yourselves by an arbitrary exertion of force."—The house was not in a temper to be impressed with arguments of this nature. Actuated by the spirit of pride and domination, they shut their eyes and ears against whatever had a tendency to awaken them from the strong delusion under which they acted, and this political Cassandra admonished, warned, and prophesied in vain. When this address reached the western shore of the Atlantic; the assemblies of Massachusetts and New York no longer existed; but Virginia, on this occasion, assumed the lead

lead with equal spirit and firmness. On the 16th of May (1769) they came to several resolutions, copies of which they ordered their speaker to transmit to the different assemblies throughout the continent, and to request their concurrence. These resolutions imported, "That the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of the colony is now, and ever hath been, in the house of burgeses, with consent of the council, and of the king, or governor for the time being:—that it is the privilege of the inhabitants to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances; and that it is lawful to procure the concurrence of his majesty's other colonies in dutiful addresses, praying the royal interposition in favor of the violated rights of America:—that all trials for treason, or misprision of treason, here committed, ought to be in and before his majesty's courts within the said colony; and that sending accused persons to be tried beyond the seas is highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects." These resolutions were followed by a humble address to the king, beseeching his royal interposition to quiet the minds of his loyal subjects in the colonies, and to avert those dangers and miseries which will ensue from a departure from the ancient rules and maxims of government." The next day, lord Bottenourt, the governor, declared to the assembly, that these resolutions had made it his duty to dissolve them;
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and that they were dissolved accordingly. The assembly immediately voted themselves into a convention, and choosing the late speaker, Peyton Randolph, esq. moderator, they entered unanimously into an association against importing not only the taxed commodities, but wines and other articles ; and the simple recommendations of this convention had throughout the province all the force and efficacy of law. The neighbouring province of Maryland followed the example of this great and leading colony, in respect to the non-importation agreement ; and the North Carolina assembly adopting, by an express vote, the resolutions passed by Virginia, were also dissolved by governor Tryon.

The general court of Massachusetts being called together in the course of the summer 1769, in conformity to their charter, immediately presented an address to his excellency the governor, for the removal of the naval and military force stationed in the town and harbour of Boston ; to which the governor returned for answer, " that he had no authority over his majesty's ships in this port, or his troops within this town." The house refusing to proceed to business while they were surrounded with an armed force, the governor adjourned the court to the town of Cambridge ; soon after which they passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia ; and also a vote,

“ that the sending an armed force into the colony, under pretence of assisting the civil power, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional.” The governor calling upon them to declare, whether they would or would not make provision for the troops agreeably to the injunctions of the act of parliament? the house answered, “ As we cannot consistently with our honor or interest, much less with the duty we owe to our constituents, so we never shall make any provision of funds for the purposes in your several messages.” Upon this the governor prorogued them to the 10th of January 1770, to meet at Boston.—The proposition adopted by the British parliament, for transporting persons from America in order to trial in Great Britain, by a forced and unheard-of construction of the old statute of Henry VIII. excited prodigious alarm throughout the continent. The house of representatives of Virginia, in their address to the king, express with feeling and dignity the sentiments which, wounded by such cruel provocation, must necessarily animate the breasts of freemen. “ When we consider,” say they, “ that, by the established laws and constitution of this colony, the most ample provision is made for apprehending and punishing all those who shall dare to engage in any treasonable practices against your majesty, or disturb the tranquillity
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of government, we cannot without horror think of the unusual, and, permit us with all humility to add, unconstitutional and illegal mode recommended to your majesty, of seizing and carrying beyond the sea the inhabitants of America suspected of any crime, and of trying such persons in any other manner than by the ancient and long-established course of proceedings; for how truly deplorable must be the case of a wretched American, who, having incurred the displeasure of any one in power, is dragged from his native home—conveyed to a distant land, where no friend will alleviate his distresses, and where no witness can be found to testify his innocence !”

In the course of this summer (1769) was transmitted to the governors of the different provinces the famous circular letter of lord Hillsborough, containing a virtual renunciation of future taxation, and an engagement, so far as the ministers of the crown could engage, to repeal, on the principles of commercial expediency, the taxes already subsisting on glass, paper, and colors. But America was now too much irritated and inflamed to be easily or speedily appeased. The exception of the duty on tea was regarded as insidious, and indicative of ministerial fraud and finess; and it was universally declared, that nothing less than a repeal of all the revenue acts, and the other odious and oppressive laws passed in the

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present reign, could lay the foundation of a solid and permanent re-union between Great Britain and her colonies.

The circular letter of lord Hillsborough was indeed one of those half measures which exhibit upon the face of them indubitable marks of weakness and incapacity. Yet were there in the administration at this period those who possessed far clearer and juster ideas of policy than the majority of their colleagues. When the question of repeal came under discussion in the cabinet, the duke of Grafton, first lord of the Treasury, lord Camden, chancellor, the earl of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and general Conway, commander in chief of the forces, names of the highest respectability, gave their voices for an entire revocation of the port duties; not merely as commercially inexpedient, but constitutionally erroneous. They were opposed by the lord president Gower, the chancellor of the Exchequer, lord North, and the three secretaries of state:—the lords Weymouth, Rochford, and Hillsborough, sir Edward Hawke, first lord of the admiralty, known to be favorable to the repeal, was on that occasion unavoidably absent. It is very remarkable that the original minute of council was framed in terms far more moderate and conciliatory than the circular letter founded upon it; and in particular, that the declaration in the letter, specifying the
ground

ground of the repeal to be commercial expediency, constituted no part of the minute: in-
fomuch, that the lords who voted for the un-
conditional repeal were highly and justly offend-
ed at the unwarrantable liberties taken by lord
Hillsborough, and lord Camden wrote to him
in terms of warm and indignant remonstrance
upon the subject. "Your lordship will forgive
me," says the chancellor, "for saying, that though
I am responsible for the minute, as it is taken
down, I am not for the letter.—I confess I do
not expect that this letter will give much satis-
faction to America; perhaps the minute might.
But as the opportunity of trying what effect that
might have produced is lost, I can only say
that I am sorry it was not in my power to submit
my sentiments to your lordship before the letter
was sent off." On enquiry being made for the
original minute it was pretended by lord Hills-
borough to be mislaid or lost.

The residence of the military at Boston, far
from preserving the peace of the town, was the
occasion of perpetual tumult and disturbance. The
governor, sir Francis Bernard, from the violence
of his temper, grew every day more obnoxious
to the inhabitants, and the licentiousness of the
Boston populace seemed to threaten his personal
safety; notwithstanding which, he scrupled not
to walk frequently alone and unattended at his

villa in the vicinity of the metropolis. On being asked whether he had no apprehensions of danger, he replied, "No; they are not a blood-thirsty people." He was at length recalled in the autumn of 1769, in order to lay before the king the true state of the province, and was succeeded by Mr. Hutchinson, who had long filled the post of lieutenant-governor. Early in the spring of the ensuing year 1770, a quarrel between the military and townsmen of Boston took place, more serious than any of those which had preceded it. A private of the 29th-regiment, passing early on the Saturday morning along a public rope-walk, was provoked by insulting words to engage a party of his comrades to attack the rope-makers. The battle being indecisive, it was determined to fight it out on the Monday. The populace being in the interim fully apprised of the intended encounter, assembled in great numbers armed with clubs and other weapons at the time appointed; the bells also ringing an alarm, and violent clamors of "Town-born, turn-out!" being heard in all parts of the city. The mob directed its course to Murray's barracks, and dared the soldiery by very offensive language to combat, which they were with great difficulty prevented from doing by the officers. At length retiring from the barracks, the populace were addressed in the street
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by "a tall large man in a red cloak and a white wig;" and after listening for some minutes to his harangue with great attention, they exclaimed with shouts and huzzas, "For the main-guard;" for which they immediately began their route in different divisions. Captain Preston, the officer on duty, on the appearance of the frantic multitude, who with oaths and execrations pressed in upon the soldiers, advancing to the very points of the bayonets, endeavoured by every effort to restrain the soldiers from violence. But a party the most furious of the populace, in sailors' habits, struck the guns down with their clubs, and a blow was aimed by one of them at captain Preston. On which a confused noise of "Fire!" was heard, and several pieces being discharged, ten or twelve persons were killed or wounded. The drums now beat every-where to arms! and the townsmen assembled to the amount of many thousands: but the governor at length making his appearance in person, they were prevailed upon, it being now moon-light, to disperse. The next morning the people again collected in vast bodies, and the governor, assembling a council, was urged to order the immediate removal of the troops; to which he most reluctantly assented, being told by Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, that he had no other option but to comply, or leave the province. On this removal

the ferment began to subside. In the mean time captain Preston and others were committed to prison, in order to take their trial, as not having acted under the sanction of the civil magistrate; and the funeral of the four persons killed in the late riot was celebrated with great and pompous solemnity, being followed by an immense concourse of people, and the procession closed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal inhabitants of the town. Notwithstanding the vehement indignation excited by the late transactions, captain Preston and the other prisoners, after a full and fair trial, were by a verdict worthy of the highest praise honourably acquitted, two only excepted, who were found guilty of manslaughter. Mr. Quincy and Mr. Adams, counsel for the prisoners, and themselves warm partisans of liberty, exerted their utmost ability in their defence. "We must," said one of these gentlemen, addressing the jury, "steel ourselves against prepossessions which contaminate the fountain of justice. To your candor and impartiality I submit the prisoners and their cause. The LAW, in all vicissitudes of government, fluctuations of passion, or flights of enthusiasm, will preserve a steady undeviating course. To use the words of a patriot, a hero, a martyr to liberty, ALGERNON SYDNEY, 'Tis *mens sine affectu*; without any regard to persons
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it commands that which is good, and it punishes that which is evil; it is deaf, inexorable, inflexible. On the one hand, it is inexorable to the cries and lamentations of the prisoners; on the other, it is deaf, deaf as an adder, to the clamours of the populace."

On the 31st of May, 1770, the assembly of Massachusetts was convened at Cambridge. The house immediately presented a remonstrance to the governor against its being held there, or at any other place than Boston, and, by a majority of ninety voices, voted it to be a grievance, and resolved not to proceed to business; on which the governor prorogued them to the month of July. On re-assembling, they persisted in their former resolution, and were again prorogued to September. In an address to the governor, previous to the last prorogation, the assembly, with minds apparently oppressed by gloomy and prophetic forebodings, insisted upon the right of the people to appeal to Heaven in disputes between them and persons in power, when there is an abuse of power. "We would, however," say they, "by no means be understood to suggest that this people have occasion *at present* to proceed to such extremity; yet grievances and cruelties too many to be enumerated, too melancholy to be much longer borne by this people, we have seen brought
upon

upon us." On the third meeting of the assembly, September 26, the governor informed them that the garrison at the castle in the pay of the province was to be withdrawn by order of his majesty, and the fortrefs to be garrisoned by regular troops; and that his orders were, to deliver it up to such officer as general Gage should direct to take the command of it. The assembly in reply observed, "If the custody and government of the fortrefs be now lodged with the military power, independent of the supreme civil magistrate within this jurisdiction, it is so essential an alteration of the constitution as must justly alarm a free people." The house, from the necessity of the case, now proceeded to business; and before the prorogation they established a "Committee of Correspondence, to communicate with such committees as may be appointed by other colonies." In the month of April, 1771, the general court was again convened at Cambridge; and against this obnoxious exertion of power the assembly again remonstrated, and entered their protest. The governor informing the house, that by his majesty's instructions he was forbidden to give his assent to any act subjecting the commissioners of the customs, and other officers of the crown, to be taxed by the usual assessors for the profits of their commissions, the house in language daring and indignant

indignant replied : " We know of no commiffioners of his majesty's customs, nor of any revenue his MAJESTY has a right to establish in North America. We know and feel a tribute levied and extorted from those who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it." The session passed heavily in sullen silence or angry recrimination.

In the succeeding year, May 1772, the general court being again convened at Cambridge, the governor acquainted the house, that his majesty had made provision for his support; on which the house, by a message to the governor, declared, " that the making provision for his excellency's support, independent of the grants and acts of the general assembly, and the governor's receiving the same, is an infraction upon the rights of the inhabitants granted by the royal charter." An unfortunate incident about this time took place at Rhode Island, which proved a new source of animosity and discord. Lieutenant Duddington, commander of the Gaspee armed schooner, an officer very obnoxious by his extraordinary zeal and vigilance in the execution of the revenue laws, falling in with the Providence packet, employed in the transportation of goods and passengers to Newport, ordered by signal the master to lower his colors; which being disregarded, he fired a shot at the
packet

packet and chafed. It being near high water, the packet stood close in with the land, designing that the Gaspee should be run aground in the chase. The Gaspee accordingly was soon fast; and, the tide having now done flowing, could by no means disengage herself. So favorable an opportunity of revenge on a man universally detested could not easily again occur. In the night a number of whale-boats filled with armed men boarded the schooner, and after some resistance made themselves masters of the vessel, which they immediately set on fire and burnt with all her stores; and though a reward of 500*l.* was offered for the discovery of these daring offenders, no evidence could be obtained against them. This event gave rise to an act of the British parliament, by which wilfully and maliciously to destroy his majesty's ships, ammunition, or *stores*, is made capital, and subjects the offender, as well in America as England, to a trial at the pleasure of his majesty *in any county of Great Britain*. Such are the progressive steps by which Tyranny forges his chains, and peoples his dungeons. A government which has lost the confidence of its subjects is urged to oppression not less by necessity than inclination.

The judges of the superior court of the Massachusetts province, though removable at the pleasure of the crown, had hitherto depended on
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the general assembly for the continuance of their salaries; but they had now salaries settled upon them by his majesty, so that the balance of the constitution was in this respect entirely subverted; both the weights of justice, as was observed, being by this means put into the same scale. Of all the arbitrary innovations of the British government, none excited greater resentment, or was deemed more dangerous, than this. Nothing, indeed, could be more opposite to the genius of the British constitution, which regards the independency of the judicial power on the executive as one of the most important bulwarks of liberty. Committees of correspondence had been recently established in the different towns and townships throughout the province: and the spirit which now pervaded the continent may be conjectured from the resolutions passed by the municipal bodies, amongst which those of the town of Peterstham may be cited as exhibiting a curious specimen of that religious enthusiasm by which the first British settlers in America, blending the songs of Zion with the murmurs of the Ohio, were once so strongly marked, and which combined with political enthusiasm—and experience shows how easily they coalesce—gives to the human mind, perhaps, the utmost momentum and energy of which it is capable.

I. Resolved, That with a governor appointed from

from Great Britain during pleasure, with a large stipend dependent upon the will of the crown, with all officers, civil and military, subject to his appointment or consent, with a castle in the hands of a standing army stationed in the very bowels of the land, no people can ever be truly free. II. That the parliament of Great Britain usurping and exercising a legislative authority over, and extorting an *unrighteous* revenue from these colonies, is against all *divine* and human laws. The late appointment of salaries to be paid to our superior court judges, whose creation, pay, and commission depend on mere will and pleasure, completes a system of bondage equal to any ever fabricated by the combined efforts of the ingenuity, malice, fraud, and wickedness of man. III. That it is the opinion of this town, that a despotic arbitrary government is the kingdom of this world, as set forth in the New Testament, and has a direct tendency to sink a people into a profound state of ignorance and irreligion; and that if we have an eye to our own and posterity's happiness, not only in this world but in the world to come, it is our duty to oppose such a government. The inhabitants of Petersham conclude with a declaration, "that it is highly becoming towns and individuals to humble themselves before Almighty God, seriously to commune with their own hearts, and seek carefully

carefully with tears for the causes of the prevailing distresses of the land; and they express their confidence that God will not suffer this land, where the Gospel hath flourished, to become a slave of the world. He will stir up witnesses of the truth, and in his own time spirit his people to stand up for his cause, and deliver them. In a similar belief that patriot of patriots, the great Algernon Sydney, lived and died, and dying breathed a like sentiment and prophecy touching his own and the then approaching times—a prophecy however not accomplished until a glorious REVOLUTION.” The extravagant and exaggerated language of these resolutions is itself a most striking evidence of that diseased and dangerous state of the public mind which could prompt these effusions of enthusiastic zeal. By a long series of acts of irritation and oppression on the part of Britain, a spirit of resentment, scarcely short of phrenzy, was excited throughout America. All seemed to feel the influence of “the madding hour;” and by the natural and determinate operation of a system detested and detestable, a system by which the present reign has been so conspicuously and fatally marked, was this change wrought in a loyal, orderly, and peaceable people, distinguished above all others for their love of liberty and hatred of licentiousness—all ranks and conditions of whom gloried in

in their connection with Britain, rejoiced in her friendship and protection, and triumphed in her prosperity.

During the session of the Massachusetts' assembly, in the summer of 1773, a discovery was made which added fresh fuel to the flame long since kindled in that province. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, agent of the house of representatives in England, had by some unknown means acquired possession of certain letters written in confidence by the governor Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor Oliver, and others, to divers of their friends and correspondents in England, in which they express themselves very freely on the situation of affairs in America; and their sentiments are such as might reasonably be expected from their public conduct. The writers appear to have been men very respectable in their private characters; but viewing the transactions which were passing before them through a thick cloud of prejudice, resentment, and interest, they discover an eager solicitude that government should adopt more violent, or, in their language, more vigorous, measures in support of its authority; and in their laudable anxiety for the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, they seemed not in the least to suspect that of such measures a civil war must be the inevitable result: nor had they the wisdom or magnanimity

banimity to comprehend, that far other ties than military force and imperious edicts were necessary to form that bond of connection which could alone restore peace and prosperity to the colonies, or render the connection itself advantageous or honorable to the mother country. These letters were, by a license which cannot be justified, even though prompted by motives the most patriotic, transmitted by Dr. Franklin to his constituents at Boston, upon whom they made an impression much easier to conceive than to describe. "This," says Mr. Hutchinson in one of his letters, "is most certainly a crisis. If no measures shall have been taken to secure the dependence of the colonies, besides some declaratory acts and resolves, it is all over with us. There must be an *abridgment* of what are called *English liberties*;" and he lays it down as a maxim, "that a colony cannot enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. I wish," says he, "the good of the colony, when I wish to see some *farther restraint of liberty* rather than the connection with the parent state should be broken." In another letter he expresses "his hopes that provisions for dissolving the commercial combinations, and for *inflicting penalties* on those who do not renounce them, would be made as soon as parliament meets." Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, intimates that the officers of the

crown, i. e. the governor, lieutenant-governor, and judges, ought to be made independent of the people; for, says he, it is a difficult matter to serve two masters. The government, he affirms, has been too weak to subdue the turbulent spirits. He insinuates the expediency of "TAKING OFF" those persons whom he styles "the original incendiaries." He wishes for the institution of an order of patricians, and asserts the necessity of an "ALTERATION OF THE CHARTERS." The assembly, thrown into a violent flame by the reading of these letters, unanimously resolved, "that the tendency and design of the said letters was to overthrow the constitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province;" and a petition was immediately voted to the king, to remove the governor Hutchinson, and the lieutenant-governor Oliver, for ever from the government of the province.

This PETITION being transmitted to the agent of the assembly, Dr. Franklin, was by him delivered to lord Dartmouth; and on its being presented to the king, his majesty signified his pleasure that it should be laid before him in council. On the 29th of January 1774, Dr. Franklin was summoned in his official capacity as agent of the province in support of the petition. Mr. Wedderburn, since raised to the dignity of the peerage
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by the title of Lord Loughborough, and promoted to the high office of chancellor of Great Britain, appearing as counsel for the defendants, delivered in that capacity, against the agent, the house of representatives, the province of Massachusetts, and the whole continent of America, one of the most extraordinary invectives that was on any occasion perhaps ever heard in the council-chamber. "Dr. Franklin," said Mr. Wedderburn, "stands in the light of the *first mover* and *prime conductor* of this whole contrivance against his majesty's two governors; and having, by the help of his own special confidants and party leaders, first made the assembly *his* agent in carrying on his own secret designs, he now appears before your lordships to give the finishing stroke to the work of his own hands. How these letters came into the possession of any one but the right owners, is a mystery for Dr. Franklin to explain. Your lordships know the train of mischiefs which followed this concealment *. After they had been left for five months to have their

* In consequence of the transmission of these letters, a duel was fought between Mr. Whately, brother to the correspondent of the two governors, and Mr. Temple, who was suspected, without just cause, of being accessory to the communication of them; and in this rencounter Mr. Whately was dangerously wounded. Such was the unfortunate incident which by Mr.

their full operation, at length comes out a letter, which it is impossible to read without horror, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malevolence. My lords, what poetic fiction [only had penned for the breast of a cruel African, Dr. Franklin has realized and transcribed from his own—His too is the language of a ZANGA:

————— Know then 'twas I,

I forged the letter, I disposed the picture;

I hated, I despised, and I destroy!

And he now appears before your lordships, wrapped up in impenetrable secrecy, to support a charge against his majesty's governor and lieutenant-governor, and expects that your lordships should advise the punishing them on account of certain letters which he will not produce, and which he dares not tell how he obtained. These are the lessons taught in Dr. Franklin's school of politics. With regard to his constituents, the factious leaders at Boston, who make this complaint against their governors, if the relating of their evil doings be criminal, and tending to alienate his majesty's affections,

Wedderburn was infamously represented as the purposed result of the malevolent artifices of Dr. Franklin. That great man remarked upon this occasion, "That though the invectives of the solicitor-general made no impression upon him, he was indeed sorry to see the lords of the council, who constituted the dernier court in colonial affairs, so rudely and indecently manifesting the pleasure they received from it."

must

must not the doing of them be much more so? Yet now they ask that his majesty will gratify and reward them for doing these things, and that he will punish their governors for relating them, because they are so very bad that it cannot but offend his majesty to hear of them." From these passages some judgment may be formed of the general strain of this famous Philippic, which, violating every rule and limit of decorum, stands upon record as the grossest insult ever offered to a great and venerable character, the most distinguished ornament of his age and country. A wise government would have known his value, and been happy to have availed itself of his experience and sagacity; but the counsels of a Franklin under the present reign were not likely to preponderate over those of a Hutchinson. The report of the lords of the council was in a few days afterwards made, the king's most excellent majesty being present, "that the petition in question is founded upon false and erroneous allegations, and that the same is groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamor and discontent in the province." And his majesty was pleased, upon taking the said report into consideration, to approve thereof, and to order the said petition of the assembly of Massachusetts to be dismissed accordingly. Such

was the mode in which a petition from the first provincial legislature in the empire, composed of men eminent for ability and integrity, was treated by the British government, which perhaps had never duly pondered the ancient maxim of moral and political wisdom, "that pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall*." But a matter of higher import, and attended with far more serious consequences, which at this time took place, is now to be related.

When at a very early period of lord North's administration the duties on paper, glass, and colors were repealed, it has been already remarked that the duty on TEA was purposely left as a mark of legislative supremacy. The East-India Company, finding their stock of tea to accumulate in their warehouses in consequence of the loss of the American market, were very urgent with the minister to repeal the American import duty of three pence per pound, offering in lieu of it to pay double the sum on exportation. A fairer opportunity could not occur to terminate the dispute. As the duty would not have been taken off at the instance of the Americans, either in the dread of their resentment, or in the prospect of their advantage, it might have been hoped

* *Maximè adducuntur plerique, ut eos justitiæ capiat oblivio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriæ, cupiditatem inciderunt. CICERO.*

that the most strenuous flicker for "the dignity of the crown" and "the honor of parliament," whose sleeping and waking dreams had centred solely in these beloved and darling objects, might at length have banished his perturbations, and pressed his pillow in peace. This concession, however, the minister was not inclined, or, which is far more probable, was not ~~PERMITTED~~ to make; and things remained on this footing, till in the session of 1773 the act passed for allowing the exportation of TEAS duty-free, and the Company, eager to make a grand effort to relieve themselves from their difficulties, were buoyed up with the flattering expectation, by becoming their own factors, of regaining possession of the American market: for, when the teas were actually transported across the Atlantic and lodged in warehouses, the mere circumstance of their having previously paid the import duty would not, it was imagined, impede the Company's sales. In this idea, however, they were most egregiously and fatally mistaken.

The Americans considered this new attempt in no other light than as an insidious artifice and collusion, calculated and designed to inveigle them into the payment of this tax, in order to ESTABLISH THE PRECEDENT; and they were firmly and unanimously determined that no such project should take effect. Six hundred chests

were by the Company, in pursuance of the late act, consigned to their agent at Boston, the like quantity to New York and Philadelphia, and in proportion to the other principal ports of the continent. Pennsylvania on this occasion distinguished herself by setting the first example of opposition. A general meeting was convened at Philadelphia, in which a series of vigorous resolutions were passed, "declaring this new ministerial plan of importation to be a violent attack upon the liberties of America, and pronouncing it to be the duty of every American to oppose this attempt; and whoever should directly or indirectly countenance it was an enemy to his country." A committee was then appointed to wait upon the consignees of the Company, and to *request* their resignation; which was immediately complied with. At New York, on the arrival of the tea-ships in December, they were with difficulty permitted to approach the wharf; and, as at Philadelphia, the consignees were compelled to relinquish their appointments, and the ships returned back to England without breaking bulk. At Charlestown, after much opposition and tumult, the tea was permitted to be unloaded, but was immediately lodged in damp unventilated cellars, where it long remained, and finally perished. In no place was the delivery of it to the consignees suffered; and
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in most the captains of the India ships, on being apprised of the temper and disposition of the people, without any attempt to land, wisely set their sails for England. At Boston the spirit of resistance rose to a height which made the excesses committed elsewhere appear trivial. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, the resolves of the city of Philadelphia were unanimously adopted, and a committee appointed to wait upon the consignees, to know whether they would resign their appointments; which they declared not to be in their power. At a succeeding meeting at Faneuil Hall, it was voted with loud acclamations, "that the tea shall not be landed, that no duty shall be paid, and that it shall be sent back in the same bottoms."—"We must not," said a leading member of the assembly, "flatter ourselves, that popular resolves, popular shouts or harangues, will vanquish our foes or terminate our trials. We must be ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and revenge, which have uniformly actuated their conduct, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest, sharpest conflict. Let us weigh and consider, before we determine upon those measures which must bring on the most terrible struggle which this country ever experienced." The question was again put, and passed without a negative.

a negative. On an application from the captain of the Dartmouth East-Indiaman to the governor for a clearance, he replied, "I cannot give you a pass consistent with the laws and my duty to the king, unless the vessel is properly qualified from the custom-house." Upon this answer being reported to the assembly, the meeting was declared to be dissolved. An immense crowd repaired in haste to the quay, and a number of the most resolute, in the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, and in about two hours broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the sea. Such was the consequence of the obstinacy of the governor, who might have recollected that his predecessor sir Francis Bernard, in a like exigency, granted permits to many ships not qualified for want of stamps, and that the prudence and propriety of his conduct had never been called in question. But the present governor had long been the urgent advocate for measures of coercion on the part of Great Britain, and was probably not displeased to see matters tending to a crisis: and, in a subsequent declaration, he assigned, somewhat unwarily, as one of the reasons for this refusal, "that by a compliance with the demand of the people *he should have rendered himself OBNOXIOUS to his SOVEREIGN.*" This undoubtedly is the MASTER-

KEY which unfolds all the apparent absurdities and extravagancies of his conduct. The temper of the British court was so well understood in America, that no one presumed to hope they would be induced, by this determined and inflexible spirit of opposition in the colonies, to desist from their ruinous projects. On the contrary, measures of vengeance were confidently expected; and even persons of acknowledged moderation, on perceiving the ideas which they had long cherished of reconciliation to be hopeless, declared their resolution, in case matters were carried to extremity by Great Britain, to join the standard of their countrymen. A major of provincials, who had been foreman of the jury on the trial of captain Preston, and to whom, in reward of his meritorious conduct, the governor had given this commission, said to him with unexpected energy, "Sir, you know that I am a friend to government, and wish to support it; but if any attempt be made to violate our CHARTER, I will fight up to my knees in blood in defence of it."

On the meeting of the general court of Massachusetts, A. D. 1774, the house of representatives seemed in no respect disposed to recede from the highest claims and pretensions they had formed. On the contrary, they, by a new assumption of authority, determined upon an
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impeachment of the chief justice Oliver, for refusing to relinquish the salary settled upon him by the crown—which, combined with the hope of its augmentation, they affirmed “ must have the effect of a perpetual bribe, and expose him to the violation of his oath—that the acceptance of this salary, unprecedented in all former times, was a breach of his implied engagements on entering into his office; and that, by receiving a grant payable out of the revenue unjustly exported from the American colonies, he had given a sanction to the injustice, counteracted the petitions of the people, and wickedly endeavored to increase the discontents and jealousies which had originated from the grievance.” The governor refusing to receive this accusation; no other effect resulted from it than to render the governor and the chief justice more obnoxious; and to keep alive the spirit of animosity and resistance.

On the 13th of January, 1774, the parliament of Great Britain was convened at Westminster. The ministry not being as yet in possession of full information from America, the speech from the throne observed a profound silence relative to the late transactions; but on the 7th of March a message was delivered from his majesty to both houses of parliament, informing them, that, “ in consequence of the unwarrant-
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able practices carried on in North America; and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution; it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament—recommending it to their serious consideration what further regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established.” Lord North, who presented the message, laid at the same time before the house of commons a great number of papers, which sufficiently shewed the daring and seditious spirit which now prevailed over the whole continent of America. His lordship, on enlarging upon these *documents*, represented the conduct of the inhabitants of Boston in the most atrocious light. He asserted that the utmost *lenity* on the part of the governor, **PERHAPS TOO MUCH**, had been already shewn; and that this town, by its late proceedings, had left government perfectly at liberty to adopt any measures they should think convenient, not only for redressing the wrong sustained by the East-India Company, but for inflicting such punishment as their factious and criminal conduct merited; and that the aid of parliament would be resorted to for this purpose, and for vindicating the *dignity of the crown*, so daringly and wantonly

only attacked and contemned." The speech of the minister was received with great applause, and the house appeared clearly and unanimously of opinion that firm and vigorous measures were at this crisis absolutely necessary. It was then moved, "that an address of thanks should be presented to the king, assuring his majesty that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This excited some faint shew of opposition, and it was remarked, "that similar assurances had been already often repeated, but that the measures hitherto adopted by ministers for the support and dignity of the crown had only exposed it to scorn, obloquy, and contempt. That the present case was of the utmost importance they admitted, and it required therefore an attentive and impartial examination. In order to do the Americans justice, it was necessary to trace the source of these calamities to their origin, in a system of arbitrary and unwise measures at home." No inclination however appeared to enter into any retrospective investigations, and the address was finally agreed to, and presented to the king.

In a short time the minister began to develop his grand plan of coercion and punishment, by
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the introduction of a bill for discontinuing the lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the town of Boston or the harbor thereof; and for the removal of the custom-house, &c. to the town of Salem. This bill was to continue in force, not only till full and ample compensation was made to the East-India Company for the damage sustained by them, but till the king in council should declare himself satisfied as to the restoration of peace and good order in the town. This bill was honored with the general approbation of the house; and it was unavailingly urged by a few individuals, that the penal clauses of the bill should be carried into execution only on the proviso of a refusal to indemnify the Company on the part of the town, and that the house should not condemn without evidence in the absence of the parties. Such was the indignation excited by the late atrocious violation of the laws, that the house appeared reluctant to listen to any palliative arguments or persuasives to moderation; and it must indeed be acknowledged that the empire was now, by unexampled indiscretion, brought into a fearful and hazardous dilemma. Good policy evidently suggested conciliation as the grand object which ought not for a moment to be lost sight of. It was first, and last, and midst, in every generous and reflecting mind; but then
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this conciliation ought not to be accompanied with any real degradation on the part of Great Britain. It was not less for the advantage of America than of Britain, that the just and constitutional authority of the mother country, upon the antient and established principles of superiority and subordination, should be maintained. To pass over such enormities as had now taken place without notice or animadversion would indeed have been a dereliction of that authority; but great caution was necessary, now that the passions were awakened, so to temper justice with lenity, as to demonstrate that the decisions of the supreme power of the empire were neither tinctured with the meanness of malice nor the folly of revenge. Had the penal clauses of the Boston Port-Bill been properly modified, and the duty on tea, which had given rise to these fatal contentions, at the same time repealed, there is no doubt but a compensation to the Company would have been immediately voted, the honor of government would have been maintained, and a sure foundation laid for a permanent reconciliation. But how rarely are the resolutions adopted in anger founded in wisdom! The idea of this repeal was suggested in the house of commons, but repressed with ineffable disdain, and the bill passed both houses without a division. While it was yet pending,

ing, a petition from the natives of America resident in London was unavailingly presented to the house of commons, stating " the deep sorrow with which they understood that this honorable house was about to pass a bill to punish, with unexampled rigor, the town of Boston for a trespass committed by some persons unknown upon the property of the East-India Company, without the said town's being apprized of any accusation brought against them, or being permitted to hear the evidence or make their defence. Your petitioners say they conceive such proceedings to be directly repugnant to every principle of law and justice, and that under such a precedent no man or body of men in America could enjoy a moment's security. Your petitioners conceive that there is not an instance, even in the most arbitrary times, in which a city was punished by parliamentary authority, without being heard, for a civil offence not committed within their jurisdiction, and without redress having been sought at common law ; and they conclude with the aphorism, that the attachment of America cannot survive the justice of Britain."

Very soon after this a second bill was introduced by the minister, for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this bill the charter of the province

was entirely subverted, and the nomination of the counsellors, judges, and magistrates of all kinds, including sheriffs, was vested in the crown, and all these officers made removeable at PLEASURE. This bill the minister affirmed to be absolutely necessary, for preventing the rest of the colonies from being tainted by the seditious example of Massachusetts Bay. The opposition now seemed to rise into some degree of firmness and vigor. It was asked, whether the colonies already regulated nearest to the manner proposed by this bill were more submissive to the right of taxation than Massachusetts? It was asserted that the disorder lay much deeper than in any diversities that subsisted in the colonial forms of government; that the people throughout the whole extent of that vast continent were universally dissatisfied, and the uneasiness and resistance were no less in the royal governments than in any other. By an invasion of the charter, the cause of Massachusetts will be made the common cause of all the colonies, who have no other or better security for the continuance of their own." The virtuous Dowdewell, who combined the inflexibility of a Shippen with the liberality and generosity of a Stanhope, called upon the house to "recollect that the province of Massachusetts had flourished for fourscore years under their old and democratic charter. It was granted in the reign of king William,

William, and breathed a spirit of liberty unknown to modern times. They have increased their possessions and improved their lands to an unexpected and unexampled pitch, and we have reaped the benefit of their labor ;—yet you are now, said this true patriot, going to destroy that very charter which has subsisted to the mutual advantage of both this country and America. The regulations enacted by the bill in question were, he affirmed, so bad, that it would be infinitely better to let matters take their course, than attempt the correction of any irregularities by so inadequate and at the same time so violent a remedy. He conjured the house to preserve temper and moderation in their proceedings, and to avoid such harsh and odious exertions of their authority.” The flagrant injustice of divesting a people of their chartered rights, without suffering them so much as to be heard in their own behalf, being forcibly and repeatedly urged, lord North in hesitating accents declared, “ that it rested upon the ground of an over-ruling political necessity. If,” said he, “ it does not stand upon that ground, it stands upon nothing.” But Mr. Jenkinson in bold and lofty language avowed as a fixed and universal axiom of government, “ that in matters of high political regulation no obligation to hear the parties existed ; and that justice was not violated in the present instance

by the refusal of evidence.”—"I see," said colonel Barré with his usual ardor, "nothing in these measures but inhumanity, injustice and wickedness, and I fear that the avenging hand of Heaven will fall heavy upon this country." The bill was finally carried by a prodigious majority of 239 against 64 voices, May 2, 1774.—In the house of lords it did not pass without the severest strictures; the final division on the general question was 92 to 20, and an animated and excellent protest against it was signed by eleven peers, amongst whom were the dukes of Richmond and Portland, and the marquis of Rockingham. "Before the rights of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which they derive from their charter, are taken away, the definite legal offence by which a forfeiture of that charter is incurred," say their lordships, "ought to have been clearly stated, and the parties heard in their own defence; and the mere celerity of a decision against it will not reconcile the minds of the people to that mode of government which is to be established upon its ruins. On the general allegations of a declaratory preamble, the rights of any public body may be taken away, and any visionary scheme of government substituted in their place. By this bill, the governor and council are invested with dangerous powers, unknown to the British constitution, and with which the king himself

self is not intrusted. By the appointment and removal of the sheriff at pleasure, they have the means of returning such juries as may best suit with the gratification of their passions and interests; the life, liberty, and property of the subject are put into their hands without controul. The weak, injudicious, and inconsistent measures of the ministry have given new force to the distractions of America, which on the repeal of the Stamp Act were subsiding,—have revived dangerous questions, and gradually estranged the affections of the colonies from the mother country. To render the colonies *permanently advantageous*, they must be SATISFIED WITH THEIR CONDITION. That satisfaction there is no chance of restoring, but by recurring to the principles on which the repeal of the Stamp Act was founded.”

The next step was, to bring in a bill for the impartial administration of justice in the province of Massachusetts Bay. This bill provided, that in case any person was indicted in that province for murder or any other capital offence, and it should appear, by information given on oath to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, he should send the person so indicted to any other colony, or to *Great Britain*, to be tried ;

the act to continue in force four years. This was the counter-part of the obsolete and tyrannical act of Henry VIII. lately revived for the trial in Great Britain of treasons committed in America. As that was intended for the punishment of the enemies of government, this was designed for the impunity of its friends. The opposition to this bill in both houses, though it finally passed by great majorities, was warm and vigorous. In a transport of indignation, a patriotic member of the house, Mr. Sawbridge, declared on the first presentation of this bill, "that it was evidently meant to enslave America—that the same minister who would enslave the colonies, would also, if he had an opportunity, enslave Great Britain. It is his aim, and he wishes to do so. But I sincerely hope the Americans will not admit of the execution of these destructive bills, but nobly refuse them. If they do not, they are the most abject wretches that the earth ever produced, and nothing that the minister can do is base enough for them."—"By this bill," said colonel Barré, at the close of an admirable speech, "you are offering the last of human outrages to the people in America, by subjecting them in effect to military execution: instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining

ing that by force, which may be with so much more facility and certainty procured by requisition? Retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants is to reconcile them to your government."—While this and the former bill for altering the charter were still pending in the house of commons, a second petition from the natives of America resident in England was presented by sir George Saville, representing in strong and striking terms the fatal effects they were calculated to produce. They declare that "they could not perceive any difference between the most abject slavery and such entire subjection to a legislature, in the constitution of which they had not a single voice as would leave them nothing they can call their own. In a distress of mind which cannot be described, they conjure the house not to convert that zeal and affection which have hitherto united every American hand and heart in the interest of England, into passions the most painful and pernicious; and they humbly and earnestly pray that the house will not persevere in measures which must reduce their countrymen to the most abject state of misery and humiliation, or drive them to the last resources of despair." This petition was coldly and disdainfully ordered to lie upon the table. In the course of the debate, Mr. Fox, who had recently

been dismissed from his seat on the Treasury bench, with circumstances of peculiar rudeness and indignity, expressed his utter detestation and abhorrence of the present measures. The bill now under consideration he pronounced to be both wanton and wicked. "If we treat the Americans," said he, "as subjects, the bill goes too far; if as rebels, it does not go far enough. We are going to destroy their charter without hearing the parties in their defence. To such measures he trusted they would never submit." The house divided 127 to 24. In the upper house this tyrannical bill was opposed by the marquis of Rockingham with all the weight and authority of a great statesman, and all the feelings of a patriot deeply concerned for the interest of his country. On the passing of the bill, a protest not less spirited than the former was entered against it in the Journals. "This bill," said the protesting peers, "after the proscription of the port of Boston, the disfranchisement of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the variety of provisions which have been made in this session for new modelling the whole polity and judicature of this province, is an humiliating confession of the weakness and inefficacy of all the proceedings of parliament. By supposing that it may be impracticable, by any means that the public wisdom could devise, to obtain a fair trial there for
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any who act under government, the house is made virtually to acknowledge the British government to be universally odious to the whole province, and to the whole continent. This bill seems to be one of the many experiments towards an introduction of essential innovations into the government of this empire. The virtual indemnity provided by this bill for those who should be indicted for murders committed under color of office, can answer no other purpose. We consider that to be an indemnity which renders trial and consequently punishment impracticable; and trial is impracticable when the very governor, under whose authority acts of violence may be committed, is empowered to send the instruments of that violence to 3000 miles distance from the scene of their offence, the reach of their prosecutor, and the local evidence which may tend to their conviction."

It was a wonted saying of the famous sir Francis Walsingham, "that a statesman must observe the joints and flexures of affairs;" but this was a species of knowledge which the ministers of George III. disdained to study. All things must, at all events, bend to their will; and if no "joints or flexures" were discernible, the resistance was to be overcome by acts and instruments of political torture. Every idea of serious opposition on the part of America seemed however
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to be treated by them with extreme contempt. Mr. Jenkinson observed, that "we had gone into a very expensive war for the attainment of America. The struggle we shall now have to keep it will be but of little expence."—"The good of this act," said lord North, speaking of the Boston Port Bill, "is, that four or five frigates will do the business without any military force. Now is our time to stand out," said the minister, "to defy them, to proceed with firmness and without fear. It will be enough to shew that Great Britain is in earnest." On the bill for the impartial administration of justice, he assured the house that he entertained no doubt but that the spirit of disobedience which had hitherto unfortunately prevailed would be tempered and brought to reason by the operation of the measures now taken, and that the event would be advantageous and happy to this country.

This bill being passed, and the recess approaching, many members were about to retire into the country, when their attention was recalled to another bill, for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec. It passed through the house of lords, where it originated, with unexpected facility; but met with an opposition in the house of commons more vehement than any of the former. The principal objects of the bill were, to ascertain

tain the limits of the province, which were now extended far beyond those settled by the proclamation of 1763, including that vast tract of territory southward of the Lakes, and bordering upon the great rivers Ohio and Mississippi; to establish a legislative council, the counsellors to be appointed by the crown, and the office to be held during pleasure; to confirm the French laws and a trial without jury in civil cases; the English laws and a trial by jury in criminal; to secure to the Roman-catholic clergy the legal enjoyment of their tithes from all who were of their own religion. The revenue of the province was assigned in the first instance to the board of Treasury, for the support of an unlimited civil list and the administration of justice; the judges holding their offices and salaries during pleasure. Thus the government of Quebec was converted into a legal despotism, committed by parliament into the hands of the crown; and a striking proof was exhibited to the world, what the other provinces of America had to expect, when reduced to *a loyal and dutiful* submission. The provision made by this act for the Roman-catholic clergy occasioned a considerable degree of odium and unpopularity to attend it without doors: but the zealous friends of liberty with grief and astonishment perceived that the public at large not only acquiesced in, but approved and

and applauded, the measures now adopted for the subjugation and enslavement of America. So true is it, that a nation, which would risque every thing to secure its own liberty, may be not the less inclined, upon that account, to domineer and tyrannize over others.

Lord Chatham's state of health, during the two preceding sessions, had precluded him from making any considerable parliamentary exertions, and he had rarely attended the house on any occasion; but, finding himself at this period somewhat relieved from the pressure of his complaints, he took the opportunity, on the third reading of the bill for quartering foldiers in America, to lay before the house and the public his thoughts on this bill, and on American affairs in general, in a speech worthy of his distinguished talents and illustrious reputation. "If," said he, "my lords, we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the globe to which they would not have fled, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical spirit which prevailed at that period in their native country; and viewing them in
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their originally forlorn and now flourishing state, they may be cited as illustrious instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when left to the free exercise of their own powers. Notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I condemn, my lords, in the severest manner, the turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston; but, my lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty is so diametrically opposite to every principle of sound policy, as to excite my utmost astonishment. You have involved the guilty and the innocent in one common punishment, and avenge the crime of a few lawless depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants. My lords, the different provinces of America, in the excess of their gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of loyalty and duty; but the moment they perceived that your intention to tax them was renewed, under a pretence of serving the East-India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions which their cooler reason would abhor. But, my lords, from the whole complexion of the late proceedings, I cannot but incline to think,

think, that administration has purposely irritated them into these violent acts, in order to gratify their own malice and revenge. What else could induce them to dress Taxation, the father of American Sedition, in the robes of an East-India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony which then so happily subsisted between the colonies and the mother country? My lords, it has always been my fixed and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it with me to the grave, that this country had no right under heaven to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy: it is contrary to that essential, unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his consent. Pass then, my lords, instead of these harsh and severe edicts, an amnesty over their errors; by measures of lenity and affection allure them to their duty; act the part of a generous and forgiving parent. A period may arrive, when this parent may stand in need of every assistance she can receive from a grateful and affectionate offspring. The welfare of this country, my lords, has ever been my greatest joy, and under all the vicissitudes of my life has afforded me the most pleasing

pleasing consolation. Should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from contributing my poor and feeble aid in the day of her distress, my prayers shall be ever for her prosperity: — ‘Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor! May her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace!’”

The only effort of a nature directly conciliatory in the course of the present session was made by Mr. Rose Fuller, member for Rye, who on the debate on the Boston Port Bill had given a very politic and judicious opinion, that the mode of punishment ought to be altered to a fine of 20,000*l.* to the East-India Company for the demolition of their tea, and another fine to his majesty for damages done. This gentleman on the 19th April (1774) moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the duty on the importation of teas into America, and the appropriation of the same, with a view to its repeal. This motion was seconded and powerfully supported by Mr. Edmund Burke, in an elaborate speech, which excited very considerable attention. This gentleman had, from the period of his first introduction to the house of commons, as confidential secretary to lord Rockingham during the administration of that nobleman, distinguished himself
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by the superiority and splendor of his parliamentary talents; and he might at this time be considered as the principal organ through which the political sentiments were communicated of that once widely-extended and potent connection of Whigs, of which lord Rockingham had, since the death of the duke of Newcastle, been considered the head. The tide of power, of fortune, and of royal favor, having long since flowed in a different channel, this party had been gradually deserted by many of their *summer friends*, but still remained highly respectable from the firm conjunction of various families of the first distinction, who had ever been numbered amongst the most zealous adherents of the Revolution and Protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The simple, unaffected, and unassuming manners of the marquis of Rockingham were amusingly contrasted in his representative Mr. Burke, whose deportment was lofty and supercilious, and whose speeches in parliament were for the most part characterized by a florid, diffusive, and ostentatious style of eloquence, ill-adapted to the investigation of truth; calculated rather to dazzle than inform, abounding with vanity and egotism, and apparently intended not so much to exhibit the merits of the cause as the abilities of the speaker. Nevertheless, they displayed a great extent

extent of knowledge ; they were enlivened with frequent flashes of wit ; they were illuminated with much brilliancy of allusion and metaphor, and adorned with bursts of oratory, bold, beautiful, and sublime. During the life-time of the marquis of Rockingham, he appeared, not indeed without some remarkable deviations, to adhere with laudable zeal to the genuine principles of Whiggism : but from the lamented decease of that distinguished nobleman, he became on a sudden very capricious and eccentric in his conduct ; and his judgment being naturally weak, and his passions proportionally violent and habitually indulged, the force of his genius in other respects has unfortunately only plunged, in the latter years of his life, deeper into the abysses of absurdity and extravagance.

Mr. Burke on this occasion, with great truth and feeling, declared that “the conduct of the ministry respecting America had exhibited to the world a most instructive lesson upon the mischief of not having large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs. They had never acted on any kind of system right or wrong, but had had recourse to shifts and devices, in order meanly to sneak out of difficulties into which they had proudly strutted : nor did they possess the generous courage, when they found and felt their error, honorably and fairly to disclaim it. By

such management, by the irresistible operation of feeble councils, so paltry a sum as three-pence in the eyes of a financier, so insignificant an article as tea in the eyes of a philosopher, have shaken the pillars of a commercial empire that circled the whole globe. The tax in question must be given up, for on what principle does it stand?—as a description of revenue not known in the comprehensive vocabulary of finance. It is a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax of war and rebellion; a tax for any thing but benefit to the imposers or satisfaction to the subject. Could I chuse, the proposition for the repeal should go to America without the attendance of the penal bill. Though you should send out this angel of peace, yet you are sending out a destroying angel too; and what would be the effect of the conflict of these two adverse spirits I dare not say. All this is in the hand of Providence: yet now, even now, I should confide in the prevailing virtue and efficacious operation of lenity, though working in darkness and in chaos; in the midst of all this unnatural and turbid combination.”

In the course of his speech, Mr. Burke took occasion to draw the political portraits of several personages who had, during the present reign, occupied the highest departments of the state.

“To Mr. George Grenville, with whom the

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new colony system had originated, he affirmed that this country owed in other respects great obligation. He had, as Mr. Burke believed, a very serious desire to benefit the public; but with no small study of the detail, he did not seem to have equally carried his view to the total circuit of affairs. He generally considered his objects in lights too much detached. This *great person* was bred to the law, a science rather calculated to invigorate than liberalize the understanding. Passing from that study he did not go very largely into the world, but plunged into business—the business of office. But men too much conversant in office rarely possess minds of remarkable enlargement. Persons nurtured in the forms and habits of office do admirably well as long as things go on in their common order: but when the high roads are broken up, when the waters are out, when a new and troubled scene is opened, *and the file affords no precedent*, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extensive comprehension of things, are requisite than ever office gave; or than office can ever give. He said, that in the year 1765, being in a very private station, unknowing and unknown, it was his fortune to become connected with a very noble person, the marquis of Rockingham, then at the head of the Treasury department; and that

he was placed in a situation which enabled him to discern in that noble person such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as had bound him, as well as others much better than him, by an inviolable attachment. The question of the repeal of the Stamp Act was brought on by the marquis, in the very instant when it was known that negotiations were carrying on between the court and the leaders of opposition. In the midst of a chaos of plots and counter-plots, of warfare against public opposition and private treachery, it was that the firmness of this noble person was put to the proof. Every thing was full of traps and mines; earth below shook; heaven above menaced. All the elements of ministerial safety were dissolved; yet he remained fixed and determined in principle, in measure, and in conduct. He practised no management, he sought no apology, he secured no retreat; but on the conclusion of an enquiry which lasted six weeks, by a noble, spirited, and unexpected majority, in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swifs of state, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the Stamp Act,—and, if it had been so permitted, a lasting peace to the empire.” Of lord Chatham, Mr. Burke said, that “the venerable
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age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he filled in the eye of mankind, forbade him to censure his conduct; and to flatter him he was afraid. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation insult him by their malevolence. For a wise minister, however, speaking with the freedom of history, Mr. Burke said, he must surely be acknowledged to have adopted measures greatly mischievous to himself, perhaps for that reason fatal to his country;—MEASURES, the effects of which are, I am afraid, FOR EVER INCURABLE. He made an administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented, and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid, such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass, whirled about, the sport of every gust; and those of the mariners who were most directly opposite to his opinions, being by far the most artful and

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powerful

powerful of the set, seizing the helm, turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy." The house were much *amused* with these ingenious representations; but no other effect was produced, the numbers on the division being 184 to 51. The session ended June 21, 1774, and his majesty's speech contained a very high eulogium on the measures which had been adopted for the purpose of reclaiming his *deluded subjects*; and on the temper, firmness, and unanimity, which had been displayed in the deliberations of parliament, which *could not fail* of giving them the greatest weight. Indeed, such was the elation of the court and its partisans at this period, that America seemed in their apprehension already subdued, and a complete victory obtained before the battle was begun.

Governor Hutchinson, by whose advice the king and his ministers had been chiefly guided, and who gave the most positive assurances that a speedy and general submission would be the consequence of the measures which he recommended, had been for some time past in England; and general Gage, already commander of the troops stationed at Boston, was appointed governor of the province. He arrived in that city in the month of May 1774, and was received with that dead and melancholy silence which portended a tremendous storm. The intelligence

telligence of the Boston Port Bill had been recently received; and on the day succeeding the arrival of the new governor a general meeting of the inhabitants was convened, in order to take it into consideration. At this meeting a resolution was passed, expressive of their ideas of the impolicy, injustice, and barbarity of the bill, and inviting the other colonies to join with them in a general agreement to put a stop to all exportation and importation to Great Britain and the West Indies till it should be repealed. Addresses from Virginia, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, New York, and the other provinces, in a short time arrived, exhorting them, with many expressions of affection and sympathy, to resolution and perseverance; and declaring, that they considered Boston as suffering in the common cause. One spirit, one undivided sentiment, of pity, indignation, and revenge, roused and pervaded all. A general congress became the object of universal desire; and Philadelphia being judged commodiously situated for the purpose, it was convened to meet in that city on the 1st of September, and in the mean time combinations were every where entered into to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain; and renouncing all communication with those who should refuse to sign this covenant, notwithstanding a proclamation from general Gage,

styling such agreement an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination. An address being presented to him by the municipality of Boston, in which the rights of the colonies were asserted in a high and resolute tone, the governor would not deign to hear it read to the end, declaring it to be an insult to his majesty and his government.

On the 25th of May, 1774, the new general court met as usual at Boston, when general Gage gave them notice of their removal to Salem by the late act. The assembly hastening the public business, in order to evade this necessity, the governor adjourned the court to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. The first business after this adjournment, on the subsequent meeting at Salem, was to appoint deputies to meet those of the other colonies in general congress at Philadelphia. The governor, having received intimation of this design, dispatched his secretary with the greatest precipitation to dissolve the court: but, on his arrival, he found the doors fast locked; and knocking aloud for entrance, he was informed that the house was upon very important business, and till it was finished he could not be admitted. On which he read the proclamation of dissolution on the stairs leading to the hall of the assembly; but the nomination of deputies being previously made, this was considered

considered as an important advantage gained against the governor.

It was a part of the artful and malignant plan of the British ministers in framing the Boston Port Bill, by removing the commerce of that metropolis to Salem, and making it the seat of government, to establish a rivalry and enmity between these two places, from which they hoped to derive mighty advantages. But the magnanimous spirit by which the Americans were at this period universally actuated discovered itself very conspicuously in an address presented by the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to the governor, the day succeeding the dissolution of the general court. "We are," say they, "most deeply afflicted with a sense of our public calamities.—By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours." Marblehead, a sea-port in the vicinity of Boston, vying in generosity with Salem, offered the merchants of that city the free use of its wharfs

wharfs and fleets. The unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this bill were the topics of universal execration; it was said "to be so constituted, that enormous pains and penalties must ensue, notwithstanding the most perfect obedience to its injunctions; as the port could not be again opened but by his majesty in council, in consequence of a previous certificate from the governor. Those charged with the most aggravated crimes are not punishable till arraigned before disinterested judges, heard in their own defence, and found guilty of the charge. But here a whole people are accused, prosecuted by they know not whom, proved guilty they know not how, and sentenced to inevitable ruin."

The rough drafts of the bills for altering the charter of Massachusetts; for the *impartial* administration of justice; and another for providing quarters for troops in America, arriving about this time at Boston, were instantly circulated through the continent, and filled up what was before wanting of violence and indignation in the several colonies. Even those who were moderate, or apparently wavering, now became resolute and resentful. The people at large expressed without reserve their conviction that ~~the crisis~~ ^{the crisis} was fast approaching, when it would be necessary for them to defend their rights with the edge of the sword. The colonial militia laws

laws required every citizen to bear arms within a certain age ; they were in general fond of military exercises, and abounded in excellent marksmen. They were now with great diligence employed in training and perfecting themselves in military evolutions and manœuvres. The sound of drums and fifes every where saluted the ear. Parents and children, husbands and lovers, the young and the old, were possessed by the same martial spirit, and were fired with the same glorious and enthusiastic zeal for liberty. Nothing was to be seen or heard of but purchasing of arms and ammunition, casting of balls, and the making all those preparations which testify the most immediate danger and determined resistance.

Soon after the arrival of general Gage, two additional regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery and cannon, were landed at Boston, and encamped on the common. These troops were by degrees re-inforced by the arrival of several regiments from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and at length from Quebec. The town of Boston is connected with the continent by a narrow isthmus of considerable length, on which a military guard was placed, and the entrance of the neck fortified by order of government ; and so little intercourse subsisted between the city and the country, that the garrison found it
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already difficult to procure the means of subsistence. With the Charter Bill, the governor received a list of thirty-six counsellors, appointed by royal mandamus, twelve of whom declined to serve. The courts of judicature were totally suspended, the jurors refusing to take the oaths and to act under the new judges and laws. In many counties the people assembled in large bodies, and took possession of the court houses, and would suffer neither judges, sheriffs, nor clerks, to enter. All persons accepting offices under the new acts were declared enemies to their country. The mandamus counsellors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had made themselves particularly obnoxious by their activity in seconding the measures of government, were compelled to take refuge in Boston. The seat of government at Salem was entirely abandoned, and government itself seemed no longer to exist.

At length the General Congress, on which all America had their eyes now fixed, met at Philadelphia for the first time, September 4, 1774. This assembly consisted of fifty-one members, delegated in such proportions from the different colonies as corresponded with their varied extent and population, though each colony had a distinct and separate vote. Amongst their first resolves they passed an unanimous vote, that this assembly
deeply

deeply feels the sufferings of their countrymen in the Massachusetts, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament; that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude with which their opposition to those measures has been conducted; and they trust that the united efforts of America in their behalf will carry conviction to the British nation of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration. But if the late acts of parliament shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay in their opposition. The congress also publish a declaration of rights, to which they conceived themselves entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts. After a specification of these rights, and an enumeration of the recent violations of them, they mention, that, in hopes of being restored to that state in which both countries formerly found happiness and prosperity, they have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures, viz. to enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement; and to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, and a loyal and
humble

humble petition to his majesty. All these different addresses and declarations were drawn up with great ability, prudence, and moderation. They call upon the people of Great Britain to witness their loyalty and attachment to the common interests of the empire; they appeal to their own acknowledgment of this truth, manifested by the reimbursement of large sums of money which they had advanced during the late war; with zeal far beyond their proportional ability. They then proceed to state and examine the measures of government, and the acts of the British parliament, which they consider as hostile to America. They adduce strong arguments to shew that the final success of the ministerial plans would in the end be as fatal to the liberties of Britain as to those of America. "Place us," say they, "in the same situation that we were in at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored." In the memorial to the inhabitants of British America, they deeply deplore the necessity which pressed them to an immediate interruption of commerce, and apologize by saying, "We are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions; and are contending for freedom so often contended for by our ancestors." Towards the close they have these words: "We think ourselves bound in duty to observe to you, that
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the schemes agitated against these colonies have been so conducted as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to the most unhappy events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency."

But the congress seemed to reserve their chief strength for the address to the king, which is penned with extraordinary force and animation, in many parts rising to a very high strain of eloquence. They express their "confidence; that, as his majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, the language of freemen cannot be displeasing:" adding, "Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men who, daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, have at length compelled us by the force of accumulated injuries to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints." They assure his majesty, that for the support of civil government, and the administration of justice, such provision has been and will be made by the colonial legislatures as may be judged suitable to their respective circumstances. They affirm, that for their defence, protection, and security in time of peace, their militias, if properly regulated, would be fully sufficient; and in case of war, his faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they have ever been when constitutionally required,

quired, to demonstrate their loyalty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. They say, "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament we confide for a redress of our grievances, trusting that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed in our happier days to enjoy. And appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction. We implore therefore your majesty, as the loving father of all your people, connected by the same bands of loyalty, faith and blood, not to suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects which, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained. So may your majesty enjoy every temporal felicity throughout a long and glorious reign, and your descendants inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more."—It is difficult to conceive how this address could be read without exciting, in the breast

breast even of the most obdurate, strong emotions of compunction and remorse ; but there are those who have hearts and understandings upon which no impression can be made by any effort of human reason, and who can resolutely " turn a deaf ear to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely."

In a subsequent address to the Roman-catholic inhabitants of Canada, the congress with perspicuity and energy state to the Canadians the rights enjoyed under that constitution from which by the late act they are debarred. " These rights," say they, " defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors. They invite and solicit them to consult their own glory and welfare, and to unite with them in one social compact. Your province," say they, " is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to ours,—join also your political interests by an accession to the general confederation." But the spirit of liberty was too faint and feeble in Canada, and the aristocracy and priesthood too powerful to admit of any considerable effect from this address. The congress, having finished their deliberations, dissolved themselves after an uninterrupted session of fifty-two

VOL. II. G days.

days. Such was the noble and enthusiastic detestation of this assembly to tyranny and slavery, that in one of their debates respecting the probability and danger of a rupture with Great Britain, a leading member rose up and said, "I should advise persisting in our struggle, though it were revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish in the contest, and one only of a thousand to survive, and retain his liberty." The last resolution of this assembly imported that another congress shall be held the 10th day of May 1775, unless redress of grievances be obtained before that time.

General Gage had issued writs for convoking the general court of Massachusetts at Salem on the 5th of October, which subsequent events induced him to recall; but the court nevertheless met, and, voting themselves into a provincial congress, appointed a committee to present a remonstrance to the governor, complaining in strong terms of the late arbitrary laws, and the hostile preparations making to enforce them. The governor refused to recognize them as a lawful assembly, and warned them at their peril to desist from their illegal and unconstitutional proceedings. To this requisition or menace little regard was paid, and at a subsequent meeting a plan was drawn up for the immediate defence of the province; magazines of ammunition and stores

stores were provided for twelve thousand militia, and an enrolment made of a number of *minute men*, so called from their engaging to turn out with their arms at a minute's warning. Winter approaching, the governor was desirous of providing barracks and clothing for the soldiers: but no workmen could be procured; and the merchants returned for answer, that they never would supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to their country. Every thing now served to increase the mutual apprehension and animosity. A magazine of powder at Charlestown, near Boston, had been seized by general Gage's order, and a battery of cannon spiked by a detachment from the shipping. On the other hand, the fort at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, was assaulted by an armed body of provincials, and after a slight resistance carried by storm, and the powder it contained was sent off in boats to a place of safety. A similar spirit of retaliation and resistance almost every where discovered itself. The resolutions of the continental congress were universally confirmed by the provincial assemblies or conventions, and committees of inspection and observation were appointed in order to enforce due obedience to the public decisions.

It is now necessary to revert to the state of affairs in England, where passion had during this interval sufficient leisure to cool, and the

greatest anxiety began to prevail as to the result of the late measures of administration. Lord Chatham, whose sentiments and feelings on all subjects of public concern must be regarded as peculiarly interesting, in a confidential letter to a friend, dated August 1774, writes, "Every step on the side of government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of liberty in that vast continent at one successful blow; but millions must perish there before the seeds of freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favorable a soil: and in the mean time devoted England must sink herself under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction." In a subsequent letter he says, "It is plain that America cannot wear chains. Would to heaven it were equally plain that the oppressor England is not doomed one day to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently !

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Happily beyond the Atlantic this poison has not reached the heart. When then will infatuated administration begin to fear that freedom they cannot destroy, and which they do not know how to love?" And in a third letter he says, "I have not words to express my satisfaction that the congress had conducted this most arduous
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and delicate business with such manly wisdom and calm resolution as does the highest honor to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England, who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse as heretofore. I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject; and that it will be found impossible for freemen in England to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America*."

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* In Smith's "Wealth of Nations," a work upon the whole deservedly celebrated, but which nevertheless contains many positions absolutely inadmissible, and many others extremely problematic, are enumerated in striking detail (vol. ii. book iv.) the restraints to which the trade and commerce of America were, previous to the origin of the fatal quarrel now subsisting, subjected by the jealous policy of Great Britain. Yet in courtly strains adapted to the times he elsewhere laments (vol. iii. book v.), "that the empire of Britain over America has existed in imagination only." It has hitherto been, as he asserts, "not an empire, but the project of an empire;" and he pretends "that the effects of the monopoly of the colony trade have been loss instead of profit." In the stead of this monopoly, therefore, he wildly and romantically proposes an enormous and direct taxation of America by the British parliament,

The PARLIAMENT, which had sat six years only, was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved in the month of September, and a new parliament immediately convened, which met on the ensuing 29th November 1774, and of which Sir Fletcher Norton was unanimously re-chosen speaker. The king, in his opening speech, acquainted the two houses "that a most daring spirit

accompanied indeed and gilded over by an impracticable and chimerical scheme of American representation in what he styles "the States General of the British Empire." The facts stated by this writer, the conclusion suggested by his own good sense, and the occasional observations too evidently calculated to conciliate the favor of the ruling powers, form altogether a singular and heterogeneous medley. "Great Britain," says he, "chooses to reserve to herself the more advanced or more refined manufactures even of the colony produce, and has prevented their establishment in the colonies, sometimes by high duties, sometimes by absolute prohibitions—She will not suffer the erection of steel furnaces or slitting-mills in any of the American plantations, even for their own consumption; but insists upon their purchasing of her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind which they have occasion for. She prohibits the exportation from one province to another, by land or water, of hats, of wool, or woollen goods of the produce of America—a regulation which confines the industry of the colonists to such coarse and household manufactures as a private family commonly makes for its own use, or that of some of its neighbours in the same province. To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of

spirit of resistance and disobedience still prevailed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and had broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature ; that the most proper and effectual measures had been taken to prevent these mischiefs ; and that they might depend upon a firm resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legisla-

of mankind.—It was not the wisdom and policy, but the disorder and injustice of the European governments which peopled and cultivated America.—The government of England, in particular, contributed scarcely any thing towards effectuating the establishment of some of its most important colonies, in North America. When those establishments had become so considerable as to attract the attention of the mother country, the regulations she made with regard to them had always in view to secure to herself the monopoly of their commerce, to confine their market, and to enlarge her own, at their expence, and consequently rather to damp and discourage than to quicken and forward the course of their prosperity.—In what way therefore has the policy of Europe contributed to the first establishment or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America?—*Magna virtum mater!* It bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions, and of laying the foundation of so great an empire.” All this is very fair and specious in theory—but what is theory opposed to experience? Under this “system of absurdity and oppression,” it is a fact incontrovertible that the colonies of Britain grew and flourished with a rapidity and acceleration of prosperity unparalleled in history ; and any attempt to exchange the original and established system of commercial restraint for the novel and odious plan of internal and external taxation, in the mode recommended by this rash and confident

legislature over all the dominions of the crown." The address proposed in the house of commons, produced a warm and animated debate. The minister was reminded of the mighty effects he had predicted from the late acts against America—They were to humble the whole continent in the dust, and the punishment of Boston was to strike an universal terror into all the colonies; that refractory town would be totally

writer, would have been the height of political Quixotism and extravagance. Nevertheless, in remarking upon the eventual probability of success in the contest now commenced, his humanity and sagacity recover their natural ascendent. "It is not," says he, "very probable that the Americans will ever voluntarily submit to us; and we ought to consider, that the blood which must be shed in forcing them to do so, is every drop of it the blood either of those who are, or of those whom we wish to have for, our fellow-citizens. They are very weak who flatter themselves, that, in the state to which things have come, our colonies will be easily conquered by force alone. The persons who now govern the resolutions of what *they call their Continental Congress* feel in themselves, at this moment a degree of importance which perhaps the greatest subjects in Europe scarce feel. They are become statesmen and legislators, and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extensive empire, which they flatter themselves will become, and which indeed seems very likely to become, one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world. Almost every individual of the governing party in America fills at present a station superior not only to what he had ever filled before, but to what he had ever expected to fill. And unless some new object of ambition is presented either to him or to his leaders, if he has the ordinary spirit of a man, he will die in defence of that station."

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abandoned; and instead of obtaining relief, a dread of the same fate would even prevent the appearances of pity. An amendment being at length offered, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to communicate the letters, orders, and instructions, relative to the execution of the late acts; it was negatived by a majority of 264 to 73. In the house of lords the numbers on the division were 63 to 13; but a *protest against the address*, the first which had ever appeared on the journals of the house, was signed by the lords in the minority; who, at the conclusion of it, thus express themselves: "It affords us a melancholy prospect of the disposition of lords in the present parliament, when we see the house, under the pressure of so severe and uniform an experience, again ready, without enquiry, to countenance, if not to adopt, the spirit of former fatal proceedings. But whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have disapproved of measures so injurious in their past effects and future tendency; and who are not in haste, without enquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war." Notwithstanding the
high

high language of the court on the first day of the session, evident symptoms of irresolution in the cabinet councils were at this period discernible, and all discussion of the affairs of America was studiously avoided by the minister, in parliament, previous to the recess. It was intimated only, that the apprehension of a war was wholly chimerical. The estimates were formed entirely upon a peace establishment; the land-tax was continued at three shillings; no vote of credit was required; the army remained on its former footing; and, what was most of all surprising, a reduction of four thousand seamen took place from the twenty thousand voted last year—a circumstance which shews in the strongest light how astonishing was the delusion of the ministry, or how eager their solicitude to delude the public. Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, publicly declared in the house of peers, that he *knew* the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. With unpardonable indiscretion he spoke in terms the most contemptuous both of the power and the courage of the Americans. He asserted, that they were neither disciplined nor capable of discipline; and that, formed of such materials, and so indisposed to encounter danger, their numbers

bers would only add to the facility of the defeat *."

On the first day of the meeting after the recess, January 20th, 1775, lord Dartmouth laid before the-peers the official papers belonging to his department. The plan of ministerial coercion was now finally settled—not however, according to general report, without considerable opposition in the cabinet from certain members of the administration, in the number of whom there was reason to believe that the first lord of the Treasury himself, the lord privy-seal, and the secretary

* To the insolence and adulation of lord SANDWICH's rhetoric on this occasion, history affords perhaps no juster parallel than the speech of MARDONIUS to XERXES on his projected invasion of Greece, as recorded by the pen of Herodotus. "Sir," said the slave to the despot, "you are not only the most illustrious of all the Persians who have hitherto appeared, but you may securely defy the competition of posterity. You are entitled to our particular admiration for not suffering the people of IONIA, *contemptible as they are*, to INSULT us with impunity. It would indeed be preposterous, if, after reducing to our power the Sacæ, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and the Assyrians, with many other great and illustrious nations, we should not inflict vengeance on those GREEKS, who *without provocation* have molested us. There can be nothing to excite our alarm—no multitude of troops—no extraordinary wealth—their POWERS *I myself have known*—Besides this, I am informed that in all their military undertakings the Greeks betray the extreme ignorance and folly. Who, sir, shall oppose you at the head of the forces and fleets of Asia? The Greeks I think never can be so audacious. If, however,

secretary of state for America, were to be accounted. Notwithstanding the continued infirmities of the earl of Chatham, he had formed a resolution to attend the house, if possible, on this memorable day, in order, before the die was finally cast, to make one powerful effort to avert the calamity, the danger, and the ruin which he saw impending over that great empire, which under his administration had attained the summit of human prosperity and glory. The house was unusually full, and a most respectable and crowded audience also filled the space below the bar. When he rose to speak,

however, I should be deceived, and they shall be so MAD as to engage us, they will soon find to their cost that in the art of war we are the first of mankind." How well the predictions of these vain boasters were verified, let SALAMIS and SARATOGA tell ! The abject manner in which the GREAT KING subsequently sued by his ambassadors for peace, courting with fawning flattery the friendship and alliance of the very people he had thus injuriously treated, and the disdainful refusal of the Athenians to enter into any negotiation so long as the Persian army remained within the limits of the Grecian territory, are particularly related by the same historian. " You may be assured," say these sons of freedom, " that your endeavours to persuade us into an alliance with the BARBARIANS never will succeed. On the part of the Athenians we declare, that as long as the sun shall continue his ordinary course, so long will we avoid any friendship with Xerxes—so long will we continue to resist him. Hereafter do not presume to enter an Athenian assembly with overtures of this kind." Herodot. book viii. sect. 9.

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all was silence and profound attention. Animated and almost inspired by his subject, he seemed to feel his own unrivalled superiority. His venerable figure, dignified and graceful in decay, his language, his voice, his gesture, were such as might at this important crisis, big with the fate of Britain, seem to characterize him as the guardian genius of his country*. "Too well apprised," he said, "of the contents of the papers now at last laid before the house, he would not take up their lordships' time in tedious and fruitless investigations, but would seize the first moment to open the door of reconciliation;—for, said he, every moment of delay is a moment of danger. As I have not, said his lordship, the honor of access to his majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this house, my ideas of America, to RESCUE him from the mis-advice of his present ministers. America, my lords, cannot be reconciled, she ought not to be re-

* Such extraordinary powers of mind as were in this nobleman, combined with so much corporeal infirmity, recall to recollection the anecdote of M. Voltaire, who, on a visit to the famous M. Turgot, when last at Paris, found the minister wrapt up in gouty flannels and unable to move: "You remind me," said the philosopher to the statesman, "of the image seen in Nebuchadnezzar's dream." "Ah!" said M. Turgot, "the feet of clay!" "Yes, and the head of gold!" the head of GOLD!" said M. Voltaire.

conciled

conciled to this country till the troops of Britain are withdrawn from the continent; they are a bar to all confidence, they are a source of perpetual irritation, they threaten a fatal catastrophe. How can America trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? How can she suppose that you mean less than bondage or death? I therefore, my lords, move, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty, ' that, in order to open the way towards an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciously please his majesty to transmit orders to general Gage for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston.' I know not, my lords, who advised the present measures; I know not who advises to a perseverance and enforcement of them; but this I will say, that the authors of such advice ought to answer it at their utmost peril. I wish, my lords, not to lose a day in this urgent pressing crisis;—an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. Never will I desert, in any stage of its progress, the conduct of this momentous business. Unless fettered to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention. I will knock at the gates of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will, if it be possible, rouse them to a sense of their danger. The
recall

recall of your army. I urge as necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace. By this it will appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably, and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout the empire. Resistance to these acts was necessary, and therefore just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave America, who feels that tyranny is equally intolerable, whether it be exercised by an individual part of the legislature, or by the collective bodies which compose it. The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. Conceiving of general Gage as a man of humanity and understanding; entertaining, as I ever must, the highest respect and affection for the British troops; I feel the most anxious sensibility for their situation, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and of defence, but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt; and to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. Allay then the ferment prevailing in America, by removing
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the obnoxious hostile cause. If you delay concession till your vain hope shall be accomplished of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever : the force of this country would be disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. But, is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond what history has related, or poetry has feigned?

———— Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, *auditque*, dolos.

But the Americans must not be heard ; they have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has devoted thirty thousand British subjects of all ranks, ages, and descriptions, to one common ruin. You may no doubt destroy their cities ; you may cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life ; but, my lords, they will still despise your power, for they have yet remaining their woods and their liberty. What though you
march

march from town to town, from province to province, though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you, in your progress of eighteen hundred miles of continent animated with the same spirit of liberty and of resistance? This universal opposition to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen: it was obvious from the nature of things and from the nature of man, and, above all, from the confirmed habits of thinking, from the spirit of Whiggism flourishing in America. The spirit which now pervades America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money in this country; the same spirit which roused all England to action at the Revolution; and which established at a remote æra your liberties on the basis of that great fundamental maxim of the constitution, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every generous Briton? To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic and on this; it is liberty to liberty engaged. In this great cause they are immoveably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the

firmament of heaven. As an Englishman, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalterable right of property. As an American, I would equally recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation. This distinction is involved in the abstract nature of things; property is private, individual, absolute; the touch of another annihilates it. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration; it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a vast and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into one harmonious effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power of the empire. On this grand practical distinction then let us rest;—taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from legislative control and commercial restraint, as from taxation for the purpose of revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless. When your lordships have perused the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favorite study,

study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow, that, in the master-states of the world, I know not the people, or the senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be futile. Can such a national principled union be resisted by the tricks of office or ministerial manœuvres? Heaping papers on the table, or counting your majorities on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger. It must arrive, my lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors; and then these boastful ministers, in spite of all their confidence and all their manœuvres, shall be compelled to hide their heads. But it is not repealing this or that act of parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to your bosom; you must repeal her fears and resentments, and then you may hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them,

would be suspicious and insecure. But it is more than evident that you *cannot* force them to your unworthy terms of submission; it is impossible; we ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I repeat it, my lords, we shall one day be forced to undo these violent oppressive acts; they must be repealed, you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an **IDiot** if they are not repealed. Avoid then this humiliating disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and to happiness. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of man, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in the present ruinous measures; foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America and the temper of your colonies, **MORE THAN TO THEIR OWN CONCERNS, BE THEY WHAT THEY MAY.** To conclude,

conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the KING, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown; but I affirm, they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the KING IS BETRAYED, but I will pronounce that the KINGDOM IS UNDONE."

The motion of lord Chatham was most ably seconded and supported by lord Camden: "King, lords, and commons," said this great constitutional lawyer, "are grand and sounding names: but king, lords, and commons, may become tyrants as well as others. Tyranny in one or more is the same: it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many as of one; this has been a doctrine known and acted upon in this country, for ages. When the famous Selden was asked, by what statute resistance to tyranny could be justified? his reply was, 'It is to be justified by the custom of England, which is a part of the law of the land.' I will affirm, my lords, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a common lawyer, that you have no right to tax America. No man, agreeably to the principles of natural or civil liberty, can be divested of any part of his property without his consent; and whenever oppression begins, resistance becomes lawful and right."

The language of the lords in administration was high and decisive: it was declared, that the mother country should never relax till America confessed her supremacy, and obedience must be enforced by arms. Lord Gower, president of the council, is reported, in addition to his menaces, to have said with an air of contempt and disdain. "Let the Americans, so long as these measures are enforced, sit talking about their natural and divine rights, their rights as men and citizens, their rights from God and nature!" In the result the motion was rejected by 68 voices against 18.

In the house of commons the American papers were, by motion of lord North, referred to a committee of the whole house, on the 26th of January 1775; previous to which petitions were presented to the house from the merchants of London, Bristol, Glasgow, &c. which, by an artifice characteristic of the present ministry, were, on a division of 197 to 81 members, consigned to a separate committee, to meet on the 27th of January—so that the house must necessarily come to a final decision on the grand question before the petitions were admitted to a hearing. This committee was denominated therefore, by the opposition, the Committee of Oblivion. The ground on which the ministry justified this procedure

cedure was, that commerce and politics were matters totally distinct, and that the house must decide on the question of peace and war solely upon political considerations ; but that due care would be taken to secure the commercial interests and property of the merchants whose petitions were before the house. To which the petitioners replied, " that they were under no apprehensions for their property, but from the measures which might be adopted by that honorable house in order to secure it." The petition from the congress to the king having been referred by his majesty, amidst the common mass of American papers, to the house, the American agents, Mr. Bollen, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, petitioned the house to be heard at the bar in its support. But the ministers alleged, " that the congress was no legal body ; and to hear evidence on the subject of their petition would be giving that illegal body some degree of countenance :—that with respect to the pretended grievances alleged in the petition, the house could hear the colonies only through their legal assemblies, and their agents properly authorized ; and that any deviations from this rule would destroy the whole order of colony government." To this the opposition replied, " that the order of colony government was destroyed already in some places by act of parliament ;

ment; in others by dissolution of assemblies by governors; and in others by popular violence—that the question was now, how to restore it. That the congress was surely an assembly sufficiently legal for the purpose of presenting a petition, which, as it was signed by all their names, might be received as the petition of individuals. That this mode of constantly rejecting petitions would infallibly end in universal revolt; and indeed a refusal to hear complaints seemed plainly to amount to an abdication of government.”—These reasonings made no impression, and the petition was in fine rejected by 218 voices to 68.

Thus did the British parliament virtually resolve to devote three millions of British subjects to destruction unheard, and to carry fire and sword into the most flourishing provinces of the empire, rather than deviate an *iota* from the established *etiquette* of precedent and punctilio. The great majority by which lord Chatham's motion for the recall of the troops from Boston was negatived did not discourage that nobleman from persisting in his exertions for restoring peace to the empire: and in the beginning of February he offered to the house of peers a bill for that purpose, under the title of “A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme Authority and superintending
Power

Power of Great Britain over the Colonies." This bill comprehended a vast extent of matter, and, as the noble lord who presided over the American department justly observed, "many of its parts seemed to require much separate discussion; that it was impossible therefore to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; that as the noble mover did not seem to press the house to any immediate decision, but rather appeared desirous that it should be fully and maturely weighed, he presumed it would be agreeable to him, and he objected not to receive it on condition that it should lie on the table till the American papers were first taken into consideration." This appearance of respect and moderation seemed to move the indignation of the other lords in administration; and lord Gower in particular reprobated it in the aggregate, and all its parts, with extraordinary asperity. It was affirmed by his lordship "that the bill was irregular, unparliamentary, and unprecedented; that the matter should have been laid before the house in separate propositions; that it was objection sufficient to the bill, that it sought reconciliation by concession; that it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but by the appointment of another legalized their proceedings by act of parliament; that should their lordships be base enough

enough to betray the rights of parliament, by adopting the provisions of this bill, the Americans would only accept such parts of it as suited their own views, and would no doubt disclaim those that wore any appearance of submission. The duty on tea was affirmed to be only the pretext for the hostile conduct of the Americans, and that their real aim was to throw off all restrictions upon their commerce; that if the jurisdiction of the Admiralty courts were circumscribed in the manner proposed by this bill, the Navigation Act would become a mere dead letter; in fine, that this was no time for concession, and that to concede now would be to give up the point for ever. His lordship, therefore, gave it as his opinion, that the bill should not be suffered to lie on the table,"

Lord Chatham, feeling and highly resenting the indignity now offered, entered into his own vindication, and that of the measure proposed by him, with all the fire and ardor of youth. "He was sensible," he said, "that this bill contained only the rude outline of a plan of accommodation; that he had offered it to the house with a view of obtaining the assistance of their lordships, to render it effectual to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. His bill was framed on no narrow principle. He appealed to the candor of their lordships, and deprecated

precated the effects of factious spleen or blind predilection. He had been charged with precipitation in this business; but under such circumstances of emergency, when a single day might decide the fate of the empire, what was to be done? More than two months had elapsed since the meeting of parliament, and no plan of reconciliation had been offered by the ministers; who, by their silence and inaction, seemed to acknowledge themselves incapable of devising any. No alternative then remained for him, but to submit to their lordships his ideas on the subject, or to abandon the interests of his country. But let ministers avow that they have a plan, and he would instantly withdraw his bill. By the indecent attempt now made to stifle this bill *in embryo*, ministers might hope that the contents of it would sink into silence and oblivion. But, though rejected here, it would, he trusted, ever remain a monument of his earnest however ineffectual endeavours to serve his country. It would at least manifest how zealous he had been to avert the impending storms, which seemed ready to burst over us and overwhelm the empire in ruin. He acknowledged himself, on cool reflection, not indeed much surprised that men who hate liberty should also hate those that prize it; that those who want virtue themselves, should persecute them who possess it. Since
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the first entrance of the present ministers into office, he affirmed that the whole of their political conduct had been one continued series of weakness, temerity, ignorance, despotism, and corruption. In one view only did they appear sound statesmen and able politicians—in a strict and unwearied attention to their own interest: such were their characters, and such their abilities, that no plan of government could be expected to succeed in their hands; and they themselves, he doubted not, were fully conscious that the adoption of any system of conciliation, founded on a wise and rational policy, would annihilate their power, and reduce them to that state of insignificance for which God and Nature had designed them.” The motion being put, the bill was rejected by a majority of 61 to 32 voices.

The very day succeeding this rejection, lord North moved in the house of commons an address to his majesty, “ to return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that having taken them into their most serious consideration, they find that a **REBELLION** at this time actually exists in the province of Massachusetts Bay; which was affirmed to be the more inexcusable, from reflecting with how much **TEMPER** his majesty and the parliament had acted in support of the laws and constitution
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of Great Britain; and solemnly assuring his majesty, that it is their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to support his majesty, against all REBELLIOUS ATTEMPTS, in the maintenance of his just rights and those of the two houses of parliament." A vehement debate ensued, and some of the more moderate of those who had hitherto voted with administration seemed to feel a kind of horror at a proposition big with the most dangerous and direful consequences. It was affirmed on the part of the opposition, "that resistance to arbitrary measures was warranted by the constitution; that no act of violence had been committed in Massachusetts Bay which was not equalled by similar acts in other provinces; that this partial declaration of rebellion was only a branch of the general system of delusion—that there was no medium between a general war and a general reconciliation." On the other hand, the courtiers insisted, "that the boasted union of the colonies would dissolve, the moment parliament shewed itself resolved on measures of vigor and severity. That it would not, however, they hoped, be necessary to punish universally, or to make examples of more than a *few ringleaders* of this revolt; and that when the colonies should be reduced to due and entire submission to the laws and authority of Great Britain, their real grievances,

grievances, upon their making proper application, should be redressed." Lord North in particular said, he would venture to affirm, "that the *dispute* with America was not so alarming as some people apprehended: he had not the least doubt but this *dispute* would end speedily, happily, and without bloodshed."

Several of the professional members of the house affected to speak with the utmost contempt of the military prowess of the Americans; and one modern Alexander declared*, "that at the head of five regiments of infantry he would undertake to traverse the whole country, and drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other."

An amendment to the address was at length proposed by Mr. Fox. Leaving out all but the preliminary words of the address, he moved to substitute after them the following: "But deploring that the information which the papers laid before them had afforded, served only to convince the house that the measures taken by his majesty's servants tended rather to widen than to heal the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America, and praying an alteration in the same." Upon a division, the amendment was rejected by 304 voices against 105, which was, however, a larger minority than

* General Grant.

had hitherto appeared on any question. Nor was it yet suffered to pass quietly—for, on receiving the report, lord John Cavendish, a nobleman whose principles were such as might be supposed associated with, and were calculated to sustain, the high honors of his name, moved for its recommitment; on which a second debate, not less vehement than the former, took place. Ministers were warned that a future and bitter day of retribution would inevitably come, when they must answer to the justice of their country for the mischiefs they had already done, and for the irretrievable ruin into which they were plunging the nation. "My head and my heart," said the noble mover, "join in deprecating the horrors of a civil war, which will be rendered still more dreadful by its involving in its certain consequences a foreign one with the combined forces of great and powerful nations." On the division, the minority appeared to have gained some little ground, the numbers being 288 to 106.

The next day a conference was, at the request of the commons, held with the lords, to propose their lordships' joining in this address; and the president, lord Gower, having made the report, the earl of Dartmouth moved, that the blank which was left open in the address should be filled up by the insertion of the words—"the lords spiritual and temporal." A debate equally violent

violent with that in the house of commons now ensued ; a very wide scope of invective, no less than of argument, was taken by the speakers on both sides ; and in the heat of controversial re- crimination, assertion, denial, arraignment, and defiance, were, in a mode very unusual in that house, dealt in unsparing and passionate terms. To the astonishment of the house, lord Mansfield, who had ever appeared to harbour an inveterate enmity to America, declared, " that the imposition of the port-duties of 1767 was a measure the most absurd and pernicious that could be devised, and the cause of all our present and impending evils." On which lord Shelburne, at that time secretary of state, lord Camden, then lord chancellor, and the duke of Grafton, then at the head of the Treasury, and now lord privy-seal, severally declared, that they had no share in that measure, and had never given it their approbation. A general sentiment of amazement and indignation seemed for a moment to pervade the minds of the house, that a measure of such unparalleled importance should be carried into effect by the force of a secret and overruling influence, contrary to the advice and judgment of the principal ministers of the crown, who were alone responsible for the measures of government. The marquis of Rockingham, who had petitions from the American and West-India merchants
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to present to the house, at length moved the previous question, in order that the allegations of the merchants might be heard before any decisive step was taken: but on the division it was negatived by 104 voices to 29; after which the original motion of lord Dartmouth was put, and agreed to by the house: but on both questions strong protests were entered on the journals of the house.

On the 10th of February, lord North moved for a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New-England provinces, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. This bill excited fresh debates. It was said, "that though a rebellion was declared only in one province, three more were included in the same punishment; that the Newfoundland fishery was necessary to the subsistence of the people of New-England; and that, by the operations of this cruel act, half a million of people, including friends and foes, innocent and guilty, were condemned to perish by famine for the supposed offences of an inconsiderable number*." The ministers contented themselves with alleging the political necessity of this measure,

* This notable project for starving the Americans into submission was generally attributed to the solicitor-general, who, in consequence, acquired the ludicrous characteristic appellation of "Starvation Wedderburne."

and it was carried through both houses by the usual majorities.

While this bill was pending, the friends of the minister, no less than the parliament, and the nation at large, were thrown into sudden astonishment by his lordship's announcing to the house a **CONCILIATORY PROPOSITION**. This famous motion, which was introduced by a long and elaborate speech, the minister affirmed to be founded on that passage of the late address, which declared, that whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to parliament, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence. The proposition itself, which wears an ambiguous and enigmatical appearance, was precisely as follows:—"That when the governor, council, and assembly or general court of his majesty's provinces, or colonies, shall propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of such province, or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony; it will be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his
majesty

majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to propose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to propose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively."

Though the intention of the minister, in the framing of this proposition, which there is good ground to believe the majority of the cabinet most reluctantly assented to, was perhaps just and laudable, it could not be imagined by any person capable of enlarged or comprehensive views that in the present state of things it would be attended with any beneficial effect. When the *right* of taxation was positively and vehemently denied by America, a mere offer on the part of Great Britain to suspend the exercise of that right, so long as the Americans should tax themselves in the exact proportion, and for the precise purposes prescribed by parliament, must, to the Americans, appear an absolute mockery. The minister had the chagrin to perceive that the proposition was very indifferently received by the house. The gentlemen usually in opposition treated it as nugatory, insidious, and ridiculous. On the other

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hand,

hand, the high prerogative party, at the head of whom, and of the whole formidable phalanx of "king's friends," was Mr. Charles Jenkinson, formerly secretary to lord Bute; a man, dark, subtle, and imbued with sentiments of loyalty and ideas of government adapted to the meridian of the court of Isfahan, violently exclaimed against this motion of conciliation, as a total abandonment of principle; as being in direct opposition to the spirit of the late address; as a contradiction to all the acts and declarations of parliament; a virtual acknowledgment of injury; and a mean prevarication, which could tend to no other purpose than to sacrifice the dignity of that house. They declared they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands; nor agree to any terms of reconciliation, in which an express and definitive acknowledgment of the supremacy of parliament was not a preliminary article. And a motion was actually made by Mr. Rigby for the chairman to leave the chair.—In the midst of the tumult occasioned by this motion, the solicitor-general, Wedderburne, who had once been himself a leading member of the opposition, and who had rendered himself peculiarly odious by his apostacy, rose, in order to explain the nature and tendency of the proposition in question, which, he said, had been exceedingly mistaken. He affirmed, "that
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it was far from the design of the proposition to assent to a dereliction of the rights of parliament, or to yield in any degree to the insolence of the Americans; but, on the contrary, it held forth a more wise and effectual method of enforcing the claims of the one, and repressing the arrogance of the other. The parliamentary right of taxation," said he, "is so essential a part of sovereignty, that parliament, if it would, *cannot* surrender it; and this right is expressly reserved by the proposition. Does it then suspend the profitable exercise of the right? So far from it, that it shews the firm resolution of parliament to enforce the only essential part of taxation; by COMPELLING the Americans to provide what we, not they, think just and reasonable. Thus it appeared that we were not contending, as some had affirmed, for trifles, or a vain point of honor; but the dispute was at length placed upon its proper foundation—Revenue or no revenue; and in default of an entire and unlimited compliance, he concluded with applying to America the famous denunciation, *DELEND A EST CARTHAGO*."—The minister, who trembled at the idea of being left in a minority, gladly acquiesced in this very satisfactory explanation; adding, in the genuine spirit of Machiavelian policy, that his motion was founded on the well-known maxim, "*Divide et impera!*" that he had never ex-

pected the Americans would embrace this proposal, but that it was intended to disunite the colonies, and unite the people of England*. The prerogative party being now CONCILIATED, the

* That lord North, notwithstanding this scandalous declaration, was sincere in his overture of conciliation, appears not merely from the rage excited by it in the Jenkinsonian party, but from a remarkable paper drawn up under the immediate inspection of the minister, for the express purpose of being transmitted to congress; and of which we find the following notice taken in the journals of that assembly.

TUESDAY, May 30, 1775.

The CONGRESS met according to adjournment.

A member informed the congress, that a gentleman just arrived from London had brought him a paper, which he says he received from lord North; and which was written, at the desire of his lordship, by Mr. Grey Cooper, under secretary to the Treasury; and as the gentleman understood it to be his lordship's desire that it should be communicated to the congress, for that purpose he had put it into his hands.—The paper, being read, is as follows:

“That it is earnestly hoped, by all the real friends of the Americans, that the terms expressed in the resolution of the 30th of February last will be accepted by all the colonies who have the least affection for their king and country, or a just sense of their own interests:

“That these terms were honorable for Great Britain, and safe for the colonies:

“That if the colonies are not blinded by faction, these terms will remove every grievance relative to taxation, and be the basis of a compact between the colonies and the mother country:

“That the people of America ought on every consideration to be satisfied with them:

“That

the question was put, and the numbers proved on the division 274 to 88. A second bill was now brought in to restrain the trade of the colonies of East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and the counties on the Delaware. The different parties in parliament appearing almost exhausted with the fatigue of incessant debate, this measure, unexpected and important as it was, passed with no memorable opposition.

On the 22d of March Mr. Burke moved a series of conciliatory propositions in the house of

“ That no farther relaxation can be admitted :

“ That the temper and spirit of the times are so much against concession, that, if it were the intention of administration, they could not carry the question. But administration have no such intention, as they are fully and firmly persuaded that further concessions would be injurious to the colonies as well as to great Britain :

“ That there is not the least probability of a change of administration :

“ That they are perfectly united in opinion, and determined to pursue the most effectual measures, and to use the whole force of the kingdom, if it be found necessary, to reduce the rebellious and refractory provinces and colonies :

“ There is so great a spirit in the nation against the congress, that the people will bear the temporary distresses of the stoppage of the American trade :

“ They may depend on this to be true.”

ORDERED to lie on the table.

In this curious and characteristic paper, those who are capable of entering into the *philosophy of history* will discern a real desire of conciliation unequally conflicting with pride, resentment, and absurdity.

commons, which he enforced by a most able and eloquent speech, fraught with wisdom and knowledge, clear, dispassionate, and convincing, and in all respects worthy of a man of the highest reputation for genius and ability. He said, "that his plan of conciliation was founded on the sure and solid basis of experience; that neither the chimeras of imagination, abstract ideas of right, nor mere general theories of government, ought to be attended to. He confessed that he was not acquainted with the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people; and he affirmed, that government, to be beneficial, or even practicable, must be adapted to the feelings, habits, and received opinions of the people; that all schemes of government which had been or could be proposed, without due regard to these matters, would be found ineffectual and dangerous. Despotism itself must bend to situations and circumstances. He disclaimed therefore all discussion respecting the question of *right*, and wished it to be considered solely as a matter of *policy*. Without enquiring whether they had a right to render their people miserable, he asked, whether it was not their interest to make them happy? And instead of taking the opinion of a lawyer on what they *might* do, Mr. Burke thought it more consonant with reason, humanity, and justice, to consult what they *ought* to do in an emergency

emergency like the present. The colonies, as they had hitherto been governed, were living monuments of the wisdom of our ancestors. The only method of governing them with safety or advantage was by admitting them to an interest in our constitution, and by recording that admission in the journals of parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing would allow, that we mean for ever to adhere to the system originally established. The idea of governing by force he reprobated as gross in its conception, uncertain in its effect, and ruinous even in its success. In conformity to these principles, parliament must revert to the antient constitutional policy of these kingdoms, which established taxation in America by grant, and not by imposition; which recognized the legal competency of the colony assemblies, for the support of the civil government in time of peace, and for public aids in time of war. In the course of his speech Mr. Burke mentioned the astonishing fact, that the exports from Great Britain to North America had increased, from the beginning of the present century, when they amounted to five hundred and seventy thousand pounds, to upwards of six millions annually." Animated by this view of his subject, and pursuing the colonists in imagination into every quarter of the globe where their active and ardent genius had found
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the means of exertion, he exclaimed in an high and lofty strain of eloquence: "Whilst we follow them into the North amongst mountains of ice, whilst we behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson's Bay, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, they have pervaded the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of the poles. Whilst some of them strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others pursue their gigantic toils on the shores of the Brazils. There is no climate that is not witness to their labors. When I contemplate these things, when I know they owe little or nothing to any care of ours but that they have arrived at this perfection through a wise and salutary neglect, I feel the pride of power with the presumption of wisdom die away within me, and I pardon every thing to the spirit of liberty." The purport of the resolutions, which were thirteen in number, went to recognize the legal competency of the colony assemblies for all the various purposes of taxation; to acknowledge that this legal competency has had a just and beneficial exercise; that experience has shewn the benefit of their grants, and the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply. Others of the propositions related to the settlement

settlement of an independent judicature, the regulation of the courts of admiralty, and the repeal of the late coercive acts of parliament. The previous question being moved on the first proposition, it was carried in favor of the ministry by 270 voices to 78; and the remaining ones were with the same facility evaded, or negatived without a division*. Another attempt was in a few days made by Mr. Hartley, a very respectable member of opposition, to effect an accommodation of this fatal quarrel, by moving "that letters of requisition should be issued, agreeably to antient precedent, under authority of the crown, with a view to procure a permanent and voluntary contribution from the several colonies towards the general expences of the empire:" but this was negatived without a division.

At this period the city of London once more ventured to breathe her fruitless requests in the ear of majesty by an address, remonstrance, and petition, which was distinguished by the remarkable circumstance of its being presented to

* These propositions of Mr. Burke may be considered as comprising the mature and deliberate plan of the Rockingham party for the restoration of the public tranquillity, to which purpose they were most wisely and happily adapted. The speech by which they were enforced is by far the most valuable of Mr. Burke's productions; it can never be too much studied or admired. Of the speaker it can only be said, *O si sic omnia dixerisset!*

the king by Mr. Wilkes, in his official capacity of lord mayor, to which civic dignity he had been elected at the close of the preceding year. In this remonstrance the citizens of London declared "their abhorrence of the measures which had been pursued, and were then pursuing, to the oppression of their fellow-subjects in the colonies. Not deceived by the specious artifice of calling despotism dignity, they said, they plainly perceived that the real purpose was to establish arbitrary power over all America. These measures, they affirmed, were carried into execution by his majesty's ministers, by the same fatal corruption which had enabled them to wound the peace and violate the constitution of this country. Your petitioners therefore, they say, do most earnestly intreat your majesty to dismiss immediately and for ever from your councils those ministers and advisers, as the first step towards a redress of those grievances which alarm and afflict your whole people."—The following answer was, in a tone of marked and unusual emotion, delivered from the throne: "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those
measures

measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms."

Towards the close of the session the house resolved itself into a committee, at the motion of the minister, to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland. Bounties were granted to the ships in either kingdom employed in the Newfoundland or Greenland fisheries; Ireland was allowed to export tools and implements for the purposes of the fisheries; and by two resolutions not connected with the original motion, and intended as an additional douceur, it was rendered lawful, 1. to export from Ireland clothing for such regiments on the Irish establishment as were employed abroad; and by the 2d, five shillings per barrel bounty was allowed on the importation of flax-seed into that kingdom. But these trivial concessions rather excited the contempt than the gratitude of that long-oppressed and long-suffering nation.

On the 15th of May, Mr. Burke presented to the house a paper styled "A Representation and Remonstrance from the General Assembly of New York." This province, accounted less disaffected than any other, and which in conjunction with North Carolina had hitherto refused,
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an unreserved acquiescence in the resolutions of the Congress, had not been included in the late Restraining Acts. But, at the suggestion of the minister, this remonstrance was rejected by the house, as containing claims inconsistent with the unlimited authority of Great Britain:—a fortunate circumstance for America; as this refusal completed that union which it was the policy, though in this instance counteracted by the pride, of the court to obstruct or dissolve. A memorial from the same body was at the same time presented to the house of peers by the duke of Manchester: but their lordships would not suffer it to be read, affirming, that the *title* of the paper rendered it inadmissible; though it was observed by the noble mover, that the lowest commissioned officer in the service had an unquestioned right to present a memorial to the king; so that it was not easy to conceive how the term in question could militate against their lordships' dignity. At length this extraordinary session was brought to a close, and the king was pleased to express from the throne "the most perfect satisfaction in the conduct of his parliament, and his entire conviction that the most SALUTARY EFFECTS must result from *such measures* formed and conducted on *such principles*." What these *effects* were, we must now turn our eyes to the continent of America in order to ascertain.

All

All EUROPE saw with amazement the spirit of rashness and folly which at this crisis reigned in the councils of Britain, and which prompted her to treat with such unparalleled harshness and disdain those colonies which, in better and happier times, she had cherished with fond affection; and of which she might truly and proudly boast, that as no nation had ever formed colonial establishments on principles so liberal, no colonies had ever, in so short a period, attained to such prosperity, or so amply rewarded the parental cares of the country from which they sprang. FREDERIC the Third, king of Prussia, that great monarch, who, combining in his own person the characters of the hero, the philosopher, and the statesman, may be considered as not inferior to any sovereign who has ever swayed the sceptre of any country, has left upon record, in terms very explicit and remarkable, his sentiments respecting the conduct and policy of the English government in relation to America. "ENGLAND," says he, "at this period, had involved herself in a war with her colonies, undertaken in the spirit of despotism, and conducted in that of folly. It was BURK who still governed the king, and directed the councils of the kingdom. Like one of those malignant spirits who are perpetually talked of, and never seen—he enveloped himself in profound

found darkness, whilst, by means of his secret instruments and emissaries, he moved the whole political machine at his pleasure. His system was that of the antient **TORIES**, who maintained the unlimited power of the crown to be necessary to the public welfare. Haughty and harsh in his deportment, little solicitous as to the selection of the means which he employed in the accomplishment of his purposes, his obstinacy could be exceeded only by his indiscretion;—a civil list of one million scarcely sufficed to gratify the venality of parliament. The English nation, **DEGRADED** by its **SOVEREIGN**, appeared to have no will separate from that of the court. But, as if this was not enough, the minister **Bute** engaged the king to attempt an arbitrary taxation of the American colonies, at once to augment his revenues, and to establish a precedent which might at a future time be imitated in Great Britain. The Americans, whom the court had not deigned to corrupt, opposed themselves openly to these imposts, so contrary to their charters, their customs, and to the liberties which they had enjoyed uninterrupted from their first establishment. A wise government would have hastened to appease these growing troubles, but the court of London acted upon other principles. The rigor and violence of their proceedings completed the alienation of the Americans. A
congress

congress was convened at Philadelphia, in which it was determined to shake off the English yoke ; and from this time we see Great Britain engaged in a ruinous war with her own colonies. France, the perpetual rival of England, saw with pleasure these civil commotions, and secretly encouraged the Americans to defend their rights against the despotism which George III. was desirous to establish, by holding out to them a prospect of future succours *. During the course of the preceding winter 1774-5, no transactions of sufficient moment to demand a particular recital had occurred in America. Military prepa-

* L'ANGLETERRE étoit engagée dans une guerre civile avec ses colonies, entreprise par esprit de despotisme, conduite avec mal-adresse. C'est l'Ecossois BUTE qui gouverne le roi et le royaume : semblable à ces esprits mal-faisans dont on parle toujours, et qu'on ne voit jamais—il s'enveloppe ainsi que ses opérations des plus profondes ténèbres. Ses émissaires, ses créatures sont les ressorts avec lesquels il meut cette machine politique selon sa volonté. Son système politique est celui des anciens TORYS, qui soutiennent que la bonheur de l'Angleterre demande que le roi jouisse d'un pouvoir despotique. Impérieux et dur dans le gouvernement, peu soucieux sur le choix des moyens qu'il emploie, sa mal-adresse dans le maniement des affaires l'emporte encore sur son obstination. Un million de livres sterlins que la nation paye annuellement au roi pour l'entretien de sa liste civile ne suffisoit qu'à peine pour contenter la vénalité des membres du parlement. La nation dégradée par son souverain même n'eut depuis d'autre volonté que la sienne. Mais, comme si ce n'étoit pas assez, le lord Bute engagea le roi à taxer des impôts arbitraires les

preparations continued to be made with unre-
mitted ardor, and the cannon and stores belong-
ing to government were seized by the provincials
in Rhode-Island and other parts ; as, on the
contrary, general Gage had made various seiz-
ures of ammunition, powder, &c. deposited in
the vicinity of Boston. The king's speech, and
the subsequent proceedings of parliament, left
no hope of accommodation ; for the resolution
and resentment of America rose in proportion to
the arbitrary and oppressive acts of Britain : and
a single spark only was now wanting to set the
whole continent in a flame. General Gage,
having intelligence of a considerable magazine

colonies Americaines, autant pour augmenter ses revenus que
pour donner un exemple qui par la suite des tems pût être
imité dans la Grande Bretagne. Les Americains, qu'on n'avoit
pais daigné corrompre, s'opposèrent ouvertement à cet impôt
si contraire à leurs droits, à leurs coutumes, et surtout aux
libertés dont ils jouissoient depuis leur établissement. Un
gouvernement sage se feroit hâté d'appaier ces troubles nais-
sans ; mais le ministère de Londres agit d'après d'autres prin-
cipes. La dureté et la violence acheva de soulever les Ame-
ricains. Ils tinrent un congrès à Philadelphie, où, reconçant
au joug Anglois qui deormais leur devenoit insupportable,
ils se déclarèrent libres et indépendans. Dès-lors voilà la
Grande Bretagne engagée dans une guerre ruineuse avec ses
propres colonies. La France, toujours rivale de l'Angleterre,
voyoit avec plaisir ces troubles. Elle encourageoit sous main
l'esprit de revolte, et animoit les Americains à soutenir leurs
droits contre le despotisme que le roi George III. vouloit y
établir, en leur présentant en perspective les secours qu'ils
pouvoient attendre."—*Œuv. de Frederic III.* tome iv.

deposited

deposited at the town of Concord, about twenty miles distant from Boston, where the provincial congress was also held, detached, on the night preceding the 19th of April, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, under the command of colonel Smith, who proceeded on their march with great silence: but by the firing of guns and ringing of bells they at length perceived themselves discovered; and on their arrival at Lexington, at five in the morning, they found the company of militia belonging to that place drawn up on the green; on which major Pitcairn, who led the advanced guard, cried out, "Disperse, rebels! throw down your arms, and disperse!" This not being immediately complied with, he ordered the soldiers to fire; eight or ten of the provincials were killed, and the rest speedily retreated. The king's troops immediately marched on to Concord, destroyed such stores as they found, and spiked three or four pieces of iron cannon. On their return, the passage of a bridge being disputed by a party of provincials, a skirmish ensued, in which several men were killed on both sides; and the whole country being by this time alarmed, rose on all quarters, pressing close upon their rear; and a scattering and irregular fire was also directed against them from behind trees, houses, and hedges, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. It fortunately happened, that general

Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, had early in the morning ordered lord Percy, with a second detachment, equal in number to the first, and two field-pieces. to march to Lexington, where they were joined in a short time by colonel Smith, who would otherwise have found great difficulty in forcing his way back to Boston, his ammunition being entirely expended. As soon as the troops resumed their march, they were again harassed and assailed in the same manner as before ; and with great fatigue and great damage they at length arrived about sun-set at Charlestown, whence they crossed the harbor in boats to Boston, under the protection of the Somerset man of war. In the different actions of the day, the loss of the king's troops was estimated at near 300 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the provincials did not exceed 90. Such was the inauspicious commencement of this disastrous war, and so ill did facts correspond with the boastful language of those BOBADILS, who at the head of a few regiments had threatened to carry terror through the continent. The sword being once drawn, the Americans seemed determined to throw away the scabbard. In a few days after the engagement at Lexington, the provincial congress of Massachusetts resolved, that 30,000 men be forthwith raised, of which generals Ward, Putnam,

Putnam *, Heath, and Thomas, were appointed to the command: and a great military force collecting in the vicinity of Boston formed the complete blockade of that important town.

On the 10th of May, 1775, the general congress, regardless of the circular letter of lord Dartmouth, forbidding in the king's name the election of delegates, met at Philadelphia; and among their first acts were, resolutions for raising a continental army, and establishing a paper currency; also a declaration, that, by the late violation of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, the compact between the crown and that colony was dissolved. The colonies of New York and North Carolina now declared their fixed resolution to unite with the other provinces in every effort to retain their just rights and liberties. The conciliatory proposition of lord North being taken into consideration, it was unanimously rejected; and for this rejection the congress assigned their reasons at

* General Putnam, who had served with reputation under lord Amherst at the head of the Connecticut troops during the last war, had long since retired to a remote farm, which he cultivated with his own hands; and when the intelligence of his appointment was notified to him, he was found, like another Cincinnatus, in a leathern frock and apron, occupied amongst his labourers in fencing in his land. Without a moment's hesitation he laid down his spade, and assumed the general's truncheon—within eighteen hours repairing to the head-quarters at Lexington, which was little short of an hundred English miles distant.

large and in a very masterly manner. "If," say they in their public declaration, "we accede to this proposal, we declare without reservation we will purchase the favor of parliament, not knowing at what price they will please to estimate it. We think the attempt unnecessary to raise upon us by force or threats our proportional contributions for the common defence; when all know, and themselves acknowledge, we have fully contributed whenever called upon to do so in the character of freemen. We are of opinion, it is not just that the colonies should be required to oblige themselves to other contributions, while Great Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade: this of itself lays them under heavy contributions. To demand therefore additional aids in the form of a tax, is to demand the double of their equal proportion. If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with all the world."

At the latter end of May, the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston, with large reinforcements of troops; so that the entire force stationed in that place or its vicinity was now become very considerable, not less than 10,000 men. A proclamation was also issued by general Gage, offering a pardon in the king's name to all who should forthwith lay down their arms; excepting only from the benefit of this amnesty

Samuel

Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were destined to condign punishment. All those who did not accept of the proffered mercy were declared rebels and traitors, and martial law established till the colony was restored to the king's peace. No other notice was taken by the congress of this proclamation, than to choose Mr. HANCOCK president of that assembly. At the same time GEORGE WASHINGTON, esq. was unanimously chosen general and commander in chief of the continental army. This gentleman had distinguished himself early in life by his gallant exertions in the late war, particularly on the memorable day of the defeat of general Braddock; when, at the head of the provincial militia, he covered the retreat of the regular forces, and prevented the total ruin of the royal army. Since the termination of the war, he had resided upon his estate at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac, a beautiful and romantic spot situated in the interior parts of Virginia, solely occupied in the arts of agricultural improvement and cultivation. His character for understanding, probity, and patriotism, stood in the highest degree of estimation. His personal accomplishments corresponded with those of his mind; and his countenance and figure were singularly noble and engaging. No choice ever met with more general

and zealous approbation, nor ever reflected in the event more honor on the judgment and sagacity of those by whom it was made. The new general signified his acceptance of this high and arduous appointment in a very handsome speech, in which he modestly declared his incompetency to the command, which he styled "a field too boundless for his abilities, and far, very far, beyond his experience: but in obedience to the call of his country, he would, without hesitation, enter upon this momentous duty, and exert every power he possessed in support of so glorious a cause; at the same time informing the assembly, that he would receive no pecuniary emoluments in compensation of his services."

Horatio Gates, esq. was appointed by the congress adjutant-general, and Artemas Ward and Charles Lee, esqrs. first and second major-generals. The last of these officers was a man of extraordinary and eccentric genius, who had served with great reputation in Portugal and elsewhere during the last war. Passionately attached to the principles of democratic liberty, rather from a proud disdain of superiority than from the pure and genuine ardor of benevolence—on the prospect of a war with the colonies, he had resigned his commission in the British army, and immediately offered his services to congress, by whom

whom they were gladly accepted; and on his military talents, skill, and experience, they justly placed very great dependence.

The English generals, weary of their confined situation, and feeling no doubt the disgrace of being with so great a force blockaded by an enemy they had affected to despise, had formed a plan to possess themselves of the heights of Dorchester, southward of the town: but, on the morning of the 16th of June, 1775, they were greatly surprised at the appearance of a redoubt breast-work and entrenchment thrown up in the night on an eminence called Bunker's Hill, to the north of Boston, on a peninsula divided by a narrow channel from that on which the town of Boston itself is situated. A resolution was immediately taken to attack this post, from which they were liable to be so much annoyed; and a detachment of 3000 chosen troops was immediately ordered on the service, under the command of general Howe. The troops ascended the hill with great resolution, but with slow and deliberate step. The Americans, under the direction of the old veteran Putnam, reserving themselves till the British forces were within ten or twelve rods, then poured in an unexpected and furious fire, which suddenly arrested their progress, and threw them into great disorder. Being rallied by the exertions of their officers, they

they again advanced, till a second discharge again threw them into a similar confusion. The generals Howe and Clinton, now placing themselves at the head of the troops, and for a time almost unsupported, led them on to a third attack; and the redoubt being now assailed on both sides, and enfiladed by the cannon from the ships and batteries, the provincials were compelled to abandon their works, retreating across the isthmus to Cambridge with inconsiderable loss. But on the part of the British, not less than 1100 were killed or wounded, and amongst them, 89 officers, who were particularly aimed at by the American riflemen. This was one of the warmest and most bloody conflicts ever known for the time it lasted, and the number of men engaged: and it was remarked, that at the battle of Minden, where the British infantry sustained the fire of the whole French army, the officers suffered much less, and of privates the loss was scarcely greater. In the heat of the action, Charlestown, a fort of suburb to Boston, situated on the opposite peninsula, and containing several hundred houses, was set on fire by the British forces, and entirely consumed.

In the beginning of July, general Washington arrived at the head-quarters near Boston: he was received with all civic and military honors, and an address of congratulation was presented to him

him by the assembly of Massachusetts ; in return for which he declared, that his highest ambition was to be the happy instrument of vindicating the common rights of America, and of restoring that devoted province to peace, liberty, and safety. The town of Boston, together with the post now occupied by the English at Bunker's Hill, continued to be closely invested: and though the American army was at this time extremely deficient in powder, ammunition, and military stores of every kind, happily no attempt was made by the English generals to molest them. The general congress had, in the beginning of June, come to an important resolution, that the colonies of America would not only continue to grant extraordinary aids in time of war, but also, if allowed a free commerce, pay into the sinking fund such a sum annually for an hundred years, as should be more than sufficient in that time, if faithfully applied, to extinguish ALL the present debts of Britain. But the intelligence at this period arriving of the prohibitory and other MAD ACTS of the British parliament, it was not suffered to be entered upon the minutes*. Georgia having

* Well might America on the receipt of these lunatic acts, in the paroxysm of her resentment and indignation, be allowed to exclaim in the language of the Poet!

Protect us, mighty Providence!
What would these madmen have?

Shall

having now acceded to the confederacy, which from this time assumed the appellation of the Thirteen United Colonies, they issued, in July, a declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, "We are reduced," say they, "to the alternative of unconditional submission, or resistance by force; the latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our ancestors, and which our posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them." This declaration was read at the head of every regiment, and received with great applause and acclamation. At the same

Shall free-born men in humble awe
 Submit to servile shame,
 Who from consent and custom draw
 The same right to be rul'd by law
 Which kings pretend to reign?

DRYDEN.

How strange is it that mankind are not better able to distinguish between things so opposite as wisdom and folly! Surely, on a review of the proceedings of the British government for a series of years past, there is good ground for acquiescing in the humiliating observation of Swift, "that common sense is not so common a thing as is generally imagined."

time,

time, and as the last effort for effecting an accommodation, the congress resolved upon a second petition to the KING, which, though less eloquent than the first, was expressed in terms the most guarded, temperate, and respectful: and so flattering were the hopes conceived of its happy effects by those who sighed for the return of peace, that it received, by a sort of general assent, the appellation of the "Olive Branch." This petition was transmitted to England through the highly respectable medium of Mr. Penn, proprietary governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and a lineal descendant of that famous and beneficent legislator in whose estimation the sword and the sceptre were equally superfluous, and in comparison with whom Solon and Lycurgus hide their diminished heads. "Attached," say the petitioners, "to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire; connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies; and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them; we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only most ardently desire that the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries; to
transmit

transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame. We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that, notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists during the course of the present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare; and, the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief being removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty and of our mother country. We therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief; with all humility submitting to your majesty, whether it may not be expedient that your majesty be pleased to DIRECT some MODE by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." To this petition, which Mr. Penn

Penn delivered into the hands of the earl of Dartmouth on the 1st of September, he was, after a short interval, informed that "NO ANSWER WOULD BE GIVEN!"

Sanguine hopes had been entertained by the English court that the inhabitants of Canada might be induced to take an active part in this war against America; and twenty thousand stand of arms were actually sent to Quebec, for the use of the Canadians. But a very general discontent pervaded the minds of the people on account of the late bill; and the militia of the province, on being applied to by the governor, general Carleton, absolutely refused to pass the limits of it—declaring, that this was a quarrel which did not concern them, and in which they were determined to take no part. The disposition of the Canadians being thus ascertained, a project was formed for the invasion of that province, which, as no danger was apprehended, was protected by a very inconsiderable force. General Montgomery, with an army not exceeding 3000 men, being appointed to conduct this expedition, immediately proceeded to St. John's, situated on the banks of Lake Champlain, before which he encamped on the 17th of September 1775. After a very gallant defence, that important fortress was surrendered on the 2d of November; Chamblée being also in the mean time

time captured by a separate detachment. General Montgomery now pressed on to Montreal; which being deemed incapable of resistance, general Carleton quitted it with precipitation one day, and the American general entered it in triumph the next. Nearly at the time that these transactions took place, Ticonderoga and Crown Point were surprized by an irregular band, hastily collected, of *Green-Mountain-men*, and other inland settlers, under the command of a bold partisan, styled by his followers Colonel Allen: and on the other side colonel Arnold, an officer of distinguished courage and activity in the service of the congress, after suffering incredible hardships in traversing a rude and pathless wilderness during a march of thirty-one days, ascending by the Kennebeck, and descending by the Chaundièrre, at length reached Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, where he expected the arrival of Montgomery. General Carleton was now reduced to a very critical situation. Immediately on the evacuation of Montreal, he was conveyed in a boat with muffled paddles down the river to Quebec—a precaution very necessary, as the Americans had by surprising exertions made themselves masters of the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The governor now made every possible preparation for a vigorous defence. On the 1st of December

December general Montgomery joined colonel Arnold before Quebec, the garrison of which consisted, including provincials and marines, of about one thousand six hundred men. Notwithstanding the extreme severity of the season in this inclement climate, general Montgomery immediately began erecting his batteries, which by a perfect novelty in military science, being composed of snow and water, soon became solid ice. But finding his artillery make little impression, he determined on a general assault: this was attempted in two different quarters of the town, the several divisions being commanded by colonel Arnold and the general in person. In the first onset general Montgomery, leading on his men with undaunted resolution, was killed by a discharge of grape-shot; and his troops falling into immediate disorder were repulsed with much slaughter. On the other side, colonel Arnold, by great exertions of courage, forced the first barrier; but before he could attempt the second, the whole strength of the garrison, in consequence of the catastrophe in the opposite quarter, was collected against him. Colonel Arnold himself received a dangerous wound in the leg by a musquet ball, and was compelled to retire to the camp. The Americans of this division, being now attacked both in front and rear, were, after a brave resistance,

at length obliged to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. This was a very complete victory on the part of the governor, whose skill and courage on this occasion merited every eulogium. Nevertheless, to fortune was he in a great degree indebted for his success, the fall of the American commander being absolutely decisive of the event. The character of general Montgomery, judging from the uniform tenor of his conduct throughout this memorable expedition, and from the united testimony of all America in his favor, could not easily be estimated too highly. To the courage of the soldier he joined the military skill of the general and the virtues of the man. He is said to have possessed a mind highly cultivated, and a person and address easy, graceful, and manly. He was of the number of those favoured and exalted few, "whom both MINERVAS call their own." When his body was taken up, his features were not in the least distorted, but his countenance appeared regular, placid, and serene. He was interred with all military and funeral honors by the governor, who had the magnanimity to esteem and acknowledge superior excellence even in an enemy. What appears most astonishing is, that colonel Arnold, with the shattered remains of his troops, now far inferior in number to the garrison, was yet able to

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continue the blockade of the city, and to reduce it to great distress for the want of provisions.

It is necessary to cast a transient view at the state of affairs at this period in the principal provinces of the continent. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, had adopted the resolution, in consequence of the disputes long subsisting between him and the people, and which rose by degrees to the greatest violence, to take refuge on board the Fowey man of war, in the month of June: to which he strangely attempted to transfer the sittings of the assembly—a requisition with which the legislative body absolutely refused compliance. His lordship being divested of his authority, carried on a sort of predatory war against the province, proclaimed martial law, and immediate emancipation to all negroes and indented servants able and willing to bear arms in his majesty's service—a measure which caused the greatest irritation and resentment, without being productive of any adequate advantage. At length an event took place, which completed the alienation of the Virginians from the English government. A demand was made by the shipping in the bay of Chesapeake, to the inhabitants of the town of Norfolk, for provisions and other supplies for his majesty's service; which being peremptorily refused, a heavy cannonade was commenced against the town, the

richest and most flourishing in the province, and in a few hours it was reduced to ashes—the loss being estimated at three hundred thousand pounds. In the adjacent country of Maryland the wisdom and moderation of governor Eden prevented these fatal extremities; and, when the British government was at length entirely superseded, he retired from the province, carrying with him the esteem and admiration of every party, and almost of every individual. In the Carolinas, lord William Campbell and governor Martin, adopting the policy of lord Dunmore, were also compelled to withdraw for safety on board the king's ships lying off the coast. In Pennsylvania, a military association was established throughout the province; and a similar spirit, indicating itself in different modes, pervaded the whole chain of colonies from the frozen deserts of Nova Scotia to the burning sands of Florida.

In the Massachusetts Bay, the town of Falmouth, from similar causes of offence with that of Norfolk, was set on fire, and destroyed by a tremendous cannonade, in the course of which above three thousand shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were thrown into the place. The garrison of Boston was maintained at an incredible expence by supplies from England, a great proportion of which was intercepted by the American cruizers;

cruizers ; and the town continued closely blockaded during the whole winter. Towards the end of February, 1776, it was determined by general Washington to take possession of the heights of Dorchester, situated in a peninsula stretching into the bay to the south of Boston. All the previous preparations being made, a party of two thousand men, on the evening of the 4th of March, passed in profound silence the neck or isthmus, followed by three hundred carriages with entrenching tools. It being bright moonlight, they continued working till day-break, when two redoubts were completed, as if by the power of enchantment, to the inexpressible astonishment of general Howe, who was informed by the admiral that he could not, while the enemy possessed those heights, be responsible for the safety of his majesty's ships in the harbour. A resolution was immediately taken by the general, now chief in command by the departure of general Gage, to dislodge them: but a prodigious storm of wind, succeeded by a deluge of rain, effectually prevented the meditated attack ; and the works having been nevertheless carried on in the mean time with unremitting diligence by the Americans, were now judged too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*, and it was determined to evacuate the town. Another work being thrown up, which from its

proximity had the entire command of Boston-neck, this determination was most precipitately carried into execution early in the morning of the 17th of March, 1776; when the whole of the troops, together with such of the inhabitants as were attached to the royal cause, put to sea on board the transports lying in the harbour, though very insufficient in number for the purpose; and after a tempestuous and dangerous voyage they at length landed safely at Halifax. On the succeeding day general Washington entered the town in triumph, and found there a great quantity of stores and provisions which the English commander had neither time to remove or to destroy. Compliments of congratulation were paid to the American general on this occasion by the convention of Massachusetts.

Some time previous to this event, the Oneidas and other Indian nations had sent a deputation to that assembly, of their chiefs and warriors, who, in the simple style of Indian eloquence, disclosed the purport of their commission in the following terms: "BROTHERS! we have heard of the unhappy differences and great contention between you and OLD ENGLAND. We wonder greatly, and are troubled in our minds. Brothers, possess your minds in peace respecting us Indians. WE cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers. The quarrel seems to us unnatural;

You

You are two brothers of one blood ; we bear an equal affection to both. Should the GREAT KING apply to us for aid, we shall deny him ; if the colonies apply, we shall refuse. We Indians cannot find or recollect in the traditions of our ancestors a case similar to this. Brothers, were it an alien that had struck you, we should look into the matter. We hope, through the wise government and good pleasure of God, your distresses may be soon removed, and the dark clouds be dispersed. Brothers, as we have declared for peace, we desire you will not apply to our Indian brethren for assistance. Let us Indians be all of one mind, and you white people settle your disputes betwixt yourselves." Happy would it have been, had the Indian nations uniformly adhered to this wise policy, of which the assembly to whom this discourse was addressed declared their high and entire approbation. But many of the savage tribes bordering on the great lakes and rivers were prevailed upon, by the solicitations and lavish presents of the British agents, to take up the hatchet in behalf of the GREAT KING. Colonel Johnson, son of the famous sir William Johnson, was most successful in these direful negotiations : and a great war-feast was made by him on the occasion, in which, according to the horrid phraseology of these barbarians, they were invited "to banquet upon a Bostonian, and to drink his blood."

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

2. In the second part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

3. In the third part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

4. In the fourth part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

5. In the fifth part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

6. In the sixth part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

7. In the seventh part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

8. In the eighth part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

9. In the ninth part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

10. In the tenth part of the paper the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied.

BOOK V.

*Second Resignation of the Duke of Grafton. Mr. Penn's Examination at the Bar of the House of Lords. Land-tax raised to 4s.—Remarkable Prediction thereon. Mr. Burke's Bill for quieting the Troubles in America. American Capture Act passed, Indulgences granted to the Province of Nova Scotia. Extravagant Overture made to Ireland. Mr. Fox's Motion of Enquiry. Treaties concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. Duke of Grafton's Conciliatory Motion. State of the Nation. State of Europe. Siege of Quebec raised. Unsuccessful Attack upon Charlestown. Declaration of American Independence. General Howe's Victory on Long-Island. General Washington retreats across the Delaware. Reverse of Fortune at Trenton. The Jerseys evacuated. Proceedings of the Congress. Session of Parliament—Memorable Speech of the King. Conciliatory Motion of Lord John Cavendish. Secession of the Opposition. Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act. King's Debts a second Time paid, 613,000*l.* One hundred thousand Pounds per Annum added to the Civil List. Remarkable Address of the Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, to the King. Motion of Lord Chatham for Peace. Insolent Memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke to the States-General.*

THE parliament of Great Britain, after a short recess, met at Westminster, October 26, 1775; and the session was opened by an unusually long and elaborate *oration* from the throne, containing charges against the colonies, the most wild and extravagant—accusing them of a *desperate conspiracy*.

spiracy, and of harbouring a premeditated design to effect a total revolt; whilst, taking advantage of the *moderation and forbearance* of parliament, they hoped to amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and of loyalty to the sovereign. "This rebellious war," it is affirmed, "is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire; and it is now become the part of wisdom, and in its effects of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions — for which purpose his majesty had greatly increased his military and naval establishments, and he had also received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance. When the unhappy and ~~DEAD~~ **MULTITUDE**, against whom this great force will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, he declared himself ready to receive the ~~mild~~ **misled** with tenderness and mercy; for which purpose he had given authority to certain persons upon the spot to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which should be disposed to return to its allegiance." Upon the whole, this speech breathed a most inveterate and determined spirit of animosity against the colonies; and nothing less than absolute, unreserved, and unconditional submission was held out as the price by which peace was to be purchased.

During

During the summer recess of parliament, the duke of Grafton, lord privy-seal, who had long viewed with extreme solicitude and concern the violent measures adopted by the majority of the ministers, but who had been induced in a certain degree to concur with and countenance these proceedings by the most positive assurances of a speedy and peaceable termination of the controversy, now perceiving a bloody and unnatural war in full prospect, determined no longer to take any share in the responsibility attached to his exalted station. But thinking it proper, previous to his resignation, to make one more effort to procure a change of system, this nobleman wrote in the month of August a letter to lord North, expressing "his loyal and grateful attachment to his majesty, and his zealous desire to see the government flourish under the administration of the noble lord to whom it was now entrusted;" at the same time stating his own clear and decided opinion, the result of much serious reflection, that some effectual means ought to be adopted for the purpose of terminating our present unfortunate differences with America. He remarked, "That the inclinations of the majority of persons of respectability and property in England differed in little else than words from the declarations of the congress— That if deputies from the *united colonies* CANNOT
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be acknowledged by the king, other expedients might be devised, by which the wishes and expectations of his majesty's American subjects might be stated and properly considered—That a *want of intercourse* had hitherto been, and must still remain, an insuperable bar to accommodation. He further observed, that the idea of a powerful party in America ready to avow their loyalty under the protection of a military force was now vanished. It is evident that, as the means of offence are increased, America has also in the same proportion increased her means of defence; that the event of such a struggle must be hopeless, disgraceful, and ruinous:" and he concluded a letter framed in the true spirit of wisdom and conciliation, and written, to adopt the precise language of it, "at this critical and perilous juncture, by suggesting one mode at least by which intercourse and negotiation might commence, under a generous offer of a truce to the revolted colonies, sanctioned by the address of both houses to the king, on various motives of policy, affection, and humanity." To this letter a polite and respectful, though very unsatisfactory answer, was returned by lord North, upon the whole purporting that measures of coercion were unalterably determined upon.

On

On the receipt of the congress petition, delivered to lord Dartmouth by Mr. Penn, the duke of Grafton again renewed his solicitations with the ministers for the adoption of a pacific system—but with no better effect. As the last resource, he then requested an audience of the KING, in which he stated to his majesty, without reserve, his reasons why he could no longer take any part in the administration of affairs. The king listened with attention, and condescendingly endeavoured to demonstrate to his grace, by calm and dispassionate reasoning, the justice, the policy, and necessity of this war, and the absolute certainty of ultimate success; and finding that he was unable to effect the conviction he wished, he flatteringly expressed his regret at parting with so experienced and faithful a servant.

On the usual motion in the house of lords for an address in answer to the speech from the throne, lord Rockingham in the most pointed terms condemned the measures recommended in it, as bearing the most portentous aspect to the British empire, and fraught with the most ruinous consequences. The charge against the colonies of aiming at independence his lordship severely reprehended, as totally unfounded: “but what,” said his lordship, “they never originally intended we may certainly *drive* them to—they will undoubtedly

doubtedly prefer independence to slavery." The charge of making insidious professions of duty was equally reprobated. On the contrary, it was observed by his lordship, that they had from the beginning declared, in terms the most explicit, that they never would submit to be arbitrarily taxed by any body of men whatever. They did not WHISPER their complaints, but fairly told the world what they would do if urged to extremity. What, his lordship asked, was that *lenity of parliament* so much boasted of in the speech? Was it to be discovered in the Boston Port Bill? in the Fishery Bill? in the Massachusetts Charter Bill? or in the indemnity and encouragement held out to military license in the bill which professes as its object the *impartial* administration of justice? Ministers, said his lordship, have been warned session after session of the danger in which they were involving themselves and the country; but the sources of information which ministers relied upon were the false, partial, illiberal representations of selfish, artful, and designing men, who had held public offices in America, and who by this means were glad to gratify at once their interest, their prejudices, and their revenge. His lordship concluded an excellent speech by moving an amendment to the address—"That, deeply impressed with the melancholy state of public

public concerns, they would on mature deliberation endeavour to apply the most effectual means of restoring order to the distracted affairs of the British empire; &c.

The duke of Grafton now rose to support the amendment, and in a particular manner attracted the attention of the house and of the public, by an open and ingenuous acknowledgment that he had by misinformation and misrepresentation been induced to give countenance to a plan the most abhorrent from his mind and opinion—being repeatedly assured that the mere appearance of coercion would suffice to establish a perfect reconciliation. His grace declared, that he could no longer hesitate as to the part he ought to take, being now fully convinced that nothing less than a total repeal of the American laws passed since the year 1763 could restore peace and happiness, or prevent those fatal consequences which he could not even think of without grief and horror. Such, he said, was the strength of his conviction, that no personal consideration whatever could induce him to refrain from giving his most determined opposition to the measures actually pursued, and to those which he understood were yet in contemplation. After a long and vehement debate the amendment of lord Rockingham was rejected by 69 voices to 29, and the original motion, on a second

cond division, carried by 76 voices to 33. But the lords in the minority entered upon the journals a most spirited and vigorous protest against it. "We have beheld with sorrow and indignation," say their lordships, "freemen driven to resistance by acts of oppression and violence. We cannot consent to an address which may deceive his majesty and the public into a belief of the confidence of this house in the present ministry, who have disgraced parliament, deceived the nation, lost the colonies, and involved us in a civil war, against our clearest interests, and upon the most unjustifiable grounds, wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of our fellow-subjects."

On the resignation of the duke of Grafton, lord Dartmouth, whose mild temper was ill calculated to enforce the present bloody and coercive measures, was advanced to the dignity of lord privy-seal; and lord George Germaine, so famous, or rather infamous, under his former appellation of lord George Sackville, who, after a long course of opposition, had uniformly voted with the court on the questions relative to America, was appointed to the vacant post of secretary of state for the colonies. The most odious of tasks was now therefore properly assigned to the most odious of instruments. Lord Rochford also at this time choosing to retire from public business,

business, viscount Weymouth was reinstated in the office of secretary for the southern department, resigned by his lordship in the year 1771.

—The debate on the address in the house of commons was chiefly distinguished from that of the lords by the high offence which seemed to be taken by many of the country gentlemen, and some other members who usually voted with the administration, at that clause in the speech from the throne in which his majesty mentioned the introduction of a body of his electoral forces into the garrisons of Port Mahon and Gibraltar; and the corresponding clause in the address, thanking his majesty for the same. This was, not without reason, represented as a measure in the highest degree unconstitutional and dangerous; and the minister not seeming very willing to give any satisfaction on this head, many gentlemen left the house without voting. On the report, the opposition was renewed with fresh vigor; and a motion being now formally made by one of the country members for inserting in lieu of the obnoxious clause, the words, “And we will immediately take into our consideration the measure of introducing foreign troops into any part of the dominions of Great Britain without the previous consent of parliament;” the minister began to see the necessity of making some concession; and quitting the

high but unsure ground of authority, he now declared, "that though he believed the measure to be right, as other gentlemen for whom he had the highest deference seemed to be of another opinion, he had no objection that the matter should be brought in a regular and parliamentary manner before the house, that its advisers might, if the necessity of the case required it, receive the benefit of an Act of Indemnity." This acknowledgment brought back the deserters to the ministerial standard, and the address finally passed by a great majority. In the sequel, a Bill of Indemnity was actually brought into the house of commons, and passed with general approbation; but after great debate it was, little to the satisfaction of the public, rejected by the lords.

On the 10th of November 1775, the duke of Richmond moved for the examination of Mr. Penn at the bar of the house of lords; to which the peers in administration gave a very reluctant assent. In the course of this remarkable examination, it appeared that no questions had been asked of Mr. Penn, or any enquiry made by ministers, since his arrival in England, although he had been governor of the colony in which the congress held their session, and was held in universal esteem as a man of great candor, ability, and information. He declared his firm belief, "that the congress had hitherto entertained no
designs

designs of independency ; that the members of that assembly were men of character, fairly elected, and fully competent to declare the sense of their constituents ; that the different provinces would certainly be governed by their decisions ; that the war was levied and carried on by the colonists, merely in defence of what they conceived to be their undoubted rights and liberties ; that the spirit of resistance was general, and that they believed themselves able to defend their liberties against the arms of Great Britain ; that the colonies had been greatly dissatisfied with the reception of their former petitions, but had formed great hopes on the success of that brought over by him, which was styled by them ' The Olive Branch,' and that he had been congratulated by his friends upon his being the bearer of it : that it was greatly to be feared, that, if conciliatory measures were not speedily pursued, they would form connections with foreign powers, and that such connections, once made, it would be found very difficult to dissolve. He affirmed, that the prevailing wish of America was restoration of friendship with England ; but that the most intelligent men on the continent were of opinion, that a rejection of the present petition would prove an insuperable bar to reconciliation. He said, that the Americans were well satisfied with the repeal of the Stamp Act, notwithstanding the declaratory law which ac-

accompanied it; and if no innovations had been afterwards made, they would have remained content; that they would allow the imperial authority of Great Britain, but not its right of taxation." The examination being finished, the duke of Richmond moved, "That the petition from the continental congress to the king was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences subsisting between Great Britain and America." After a violent debate, the motion was negatived by 86 to 33 voices.

The minister having moved in the house of commons, that the land-tax for the year 1776 be four shillings in the pound, the country gentlemen were congratulated by the members in opposition on this additional taxation, as the first fruits of their darling scheme for the coercion of America; and it was predicted, that below the present level the land-tax would NEVER AGAIN BE REDUCED. The country members, irritated equally by the increase of the tax and the bitter sarcasms by which it was accompanied, and displeased also with the language now held by lord North, "that the contest was not for taxation but for sovereignty," declared through the medium of their leaders, that they had supported government in its plans of coercion, in the firm persuasion that their burthens would be eventually diminished by a great revenue to be drawn from America; but if the idea of a revenue were
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abandoned, they could not think of expending any more money in a contest attended with so many evils, and wholly unproductive of benefit; and they would therefore oppose the noble lord's motion for the increase of the land-tax. The minister, who was a great adept in the art of accommodation, and perfectly skilled in the science of government *within the walls of that house*, instantly perceived the necessity, as at other times and on other favorite points, of conciliating this occasionally obstinate and refractory class of members. He now therefore assured them, "that the idea of taxation, and of levying a productive revenue from America, was never abandoned; and that, when any thing of that sort was affirmed, nothing more was meant than that it was dropped for the present; taxation being a matter of secondary consideration only, when the supremacy of the country was at stake. He even declared, that no means existed by which the legislative authority and commercial control of this country over the colonies could be insured, but by combining them with taxation." This explanation giving much satisfaction, the motion was carried by a great majority; and thus were these credulous and honest gentlemen, the loyal and zealous DE COVERLEYS of the house, led to believe, that a war carried on at so enormous and uncalculable an

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expence,

expencc, was a war founded on the œconomical principle of reducing taxes and diminishing burdens*; though it is remarkable, that the most sanguine ideas of Mr. Grenville himself never extended to the expectation of extorting a revenue from America equal in amount to the interest of the loan already wanting, and which it would be annually necessary, under increasing difficulties and disadvantages, to raise, in order to establish a claim which was now declared to be the object of the contest.

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* The gross cullibility of the country gentlemen in every step relative to this business, taken in conjunction with the deceit and artifices practised upon them by the courtiers, and particularly the court lawyers, recalls to recollection the farcism of a merciless wit, who, on being informed that a certain bill had been referred to a committee consisting of the gentlemen of the long robe and county members, remarked, "that this was the same thing as referring it to all the knaves and fools in the house." At this period the celebrated Hume, writing in confidence to a friend, thus expressed his sentiments on the subject of American politics.—Oct. 26, 1775. "I must, before we part, have a little stroke of politics with you, notwithstanding my resolution to the contrary. We hear that some of the ministers have proposed in council that both fleet and army be withdrawn from America, and these colonies be left entirely to themselves. I wish I had been a member of his majesty's cabinet council, that I might have seconded this opinion, I should have said that this measure only anticipated the necessary course of events a few years—that a forced and every day more precarious monopoly of about 6 or 700,000*l.* a year of manufactures was not worth

In the course of this month (November 1775) a series of motions made in the upper house by the duke of Grafton, for estimates to be laid before the house respecting the state of the army in America, and the addition of force necessary for the service of the ensuing campaign, were negatived without a division. Parliament was left to wander in darkness and uncertainty, on pretence of the danger of giving any information that might reach the enemy. On the day suc-

worth contending for; that we should preserve the greatest part of this trade even if the ports of America were open to all nations; that it was very likely, in our method of proceeding, that we should be disappointed in our scheme of conquering the colonies; and that we ought to think before-hand how we were to govern them after they were conquered. Arbitrary power can extend its oppressive arm to the antipodes; but a limited government can never long be upheld at a distance, even where no disgusts have intervened, much less where such violent animosities have taken place. We must therefore annul all the charters, abolish every democratic power in every colony, repeal the Habeas-Corpus Act with regard to them, invest every governor with full discretionary or arbitrary powers, confiscate the estates of all the chief planters, and hang three-fourths of their clergy. To execute such acts of destructive violence 20,000 men will not be sufficient, nor, 30,000 to maintain them in so wide or disjointed a territory. And who are to pay so great an army? The colonists cannot at any time; much less after reducing them to such a state of desolation:—we ought not, and indeed cannot, in the overloaded and totally ruined state of our finances. Let us therefore lay aside all anger, shake hands, and part friends; or, if we retain any anger, let it be only against ourselves for our past folly."

ceeding this rejection, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in a bill "for quieting the present troubles in America," which was professedly founded on the famous statute passed in the 35th year of Edward I. known by the name of *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*. He justly observed, "that sovereignty was not in its nature an idea of absolute unity, but was capable of great complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of those who are to be governed, and to the circumstances of things; which being infinitely diversified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itself to their nature, instead of vainly endeavouring to force that to a contrary bias; that the Grand Seignior himself could not exercise his authority in the same manner, or the same degree, at Algiers or Tunis as at Constantinople; and that circumstances not in our power to alter or control made concession on the subject of taxation indispensably essential to the attainment of peace. Nothing worse, said this famous parliamentary orator, happens to you than to all nations possessing extensive empires. In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Despotism itself is compelled to *truck and buckster*. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Curdistan, as he governs Thrace. Three thousand miles of ocean

is a powerful principle in the natural constitution of things for weakening government, of which no contrivance can destroy the effect. Spain in her American provinces submits to this immutable condition, the eternal law of extensive and detached empire. A power steps in which limits the arrogance of the raging passions, and says, Hither shalt thou go, and no further. Who are you, that you should fret and rage, and bite the chain of nature? Such effects are incident to all the forms into which empire can be thrown. The great object of the present bill (he said) was a renunciation of the exercise of taxation, without at all interfering with the question of right: it preserved the power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce; but the money so raised, agreeably to an excellent idea suggested by the conciliatory motion of lord North, was to be at the disposal of the several general assemblies. The tea duty of 1767 was to be repealed, and a general amnesty granted." This was a wise, simple, and rational plan of conciliation; and it met with a less unfavorable reception from the house than any hitherto attempted; but on a division upon the previous question, the numbers were 210 against 105 who voted in support of the original motion.

In a few days after this, the minister brought in his famous Prohibitory Bill, interdicting all trade

the Act of Navigation itself was in part dispensed with in their favor, and they were allowed to import ORANGES and LEMONS, and some other articles of equal importance, directly from the place of their growth and produce. But as this barren province was notoriously unequal to the support of its own civil government, the offer of a revenue seemed to carry with it so ludicrous an appearance, that no bill was ever in the sequel brought forward in consequence of the resolutions now passed.

A very extraordinary proposition had been recently made by the earl of Harcourt, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to the parliament of that kingdom, on the part of his majesty, who had pledged his royal word, that twelve thousand regular troops on that establishment should always remain stationary in that country; requesting four thousand of the said troops to be employed in the service of Great Britain, and engaging that Ireland should be relieved from the expence of the same; and ALSO, that the said troops should be replaced, if desired, by four thousand foreign Protestant troops, to be *likewise paid by Great Britain*. Soon after the Christmas recess, a motion was made in the English house of commons, by Mr. Thomas Townshend, "that the earl of Harcourt was herein chargeable with a breach of privilege, and had acted in derogation of the authority

authority of that house, and that a committee be appointed to enquire into the same." It was urged, "that it was the highest presumption in the lord lieutenant of Ireland to engage for the payment of any specific sums by the parliament of Great Britain; and much worse to pledge the parliament to the fulfilment of a contract so absurd and extravagant as to defray the expence of eight thousand men for the service of four thousand; and the design of introducing foreign troops into Ireland was represented as fraught with danger and mischief." The minister appeared not a little embarrassed on this occasion; and contented himself with saying, "that he was in no shape responsible for the conduct or actions of the lord lieutenant of Ireland; and he disavowed any knowledge of the specific instructions under which this requisition had been made. He allowed that the bargain appeared improvident, but it might be defended on the ground of necessity; and if it were allowed to be more eligible to employ native troops than foreigners in America, it would be a sufficient justification of the latter part of the proposition." Mr. Jenkinson, however, and others of *the king's friends*, who took part in the debate, assumed a much higher tone, and insisted upon his majesty's RIGHT of introducing foreign forces into any part of his dominions, when the exigencies of the state rendered

dered it expedient or necessary. Mr. Jenkinson asserted, "that the message was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official usage, and that the measure was in exact conformity with, or more properly constituted a part of, that ancient and acknowledged prerogative, by which the crown raised troops of its own will, and then applied to parliament for the payment, or entered into treaties for the same purpose with foreign princes, and pledged the national faith for a due performance of the articles." That part of the motion which went to the appointment of a committee of enquiry was negatived by 224 to 106 voices, and the previous question put on the clause of censure, which was carried without a division.

Not discouraged by the ill success of former attempts, Mr. Fox, on the 20th February 1776, moved, "That it be referred to a committee, to enquire into the ill success of his majesty's arms in America." The vigor and comprehension of mind, the determined resolution, the open and magnanimous disposition of this senator, mature in judgment, though immature in years—excited hopes and expectations of eventual advantage to his country, which the malignant genius of Britain has hitherto delighted to disappoint. "Declining," he said, "at present to enter into the development of a system whose principles and complexion afforded the clearest and most unequivocal

unequivocal proofs that its ultimate design was the TOTAL DESTRUCTION of the CONSTITUTION, he grounded his motion on the acknowledged fact, that there had been somewhere gross ignorance, incapacity, or negligence. This must be imputed either to our ministers at home, or our commanders abroad : and it was absolutely necessary that the house should be fully informed on the subject, in order that a remedy might be applied to the evil before the nation fell a victim to the treachery or misconduct of men on the one hand as unfit to deliberate and determine, as on the other to carry the measures so determined into execution. Public justice demanded such an enquiry. None but the guilty could wish to evade it. Our commanders by sea and land ought not to suffer the disgrace attached to ill success, in order to hide or palliate the blunders, the follies, the shameful and wretched inability of others." The administration appeared much chagrined and mortified at this exposure of their weakness. It was acknowledged " that ill success had hitherto attended the operations of the war, but that more vigorous measures would now be pursued ; that a change of the former *lenient system* had been announced from the throne ; and it would be highly disrespectful and improper to enter into the examinations proposed, until the measures now resolved upon were tried, and

and the event known." The previous question being put at three o'clock in the morning; the motion was rejected by a majority of 240 to 104.

The treaties recently entered into by his majesty with the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Brunswick, &c. for hiring large bodies of their troops for the American service, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, having been laid before the house, and a motion made by the minister for referring them to a committee of supply, a vehement debate ensued. "Great Britain," it was said, "was now disgraced in the eyes of all Europe—She was to be impoverished, and, what was still worse, degraded by an humiliating application to the petty princes of Germany for succours to enable her to subdue her own subjects. Such also were the extravagant terms on which these troops were obtained, that the use of 18,000 mercenaries would not, taking in all contingencies, cost the nation less than one million and a half sterling. There were no limits to the extortion of these princely butchers, who sold their subjects like so many beasts for the slaughter. They were to have levy-money; they were to have a double subsidy; their corps were to be kept up complete; they were to be paid till the troops returned to their respective countries, and the subsidies were to be continued two years after the performance of the service." In answer to these objections, the
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the ministers alleged, that the terms were more reasonable, considering the distance and other disagreeable circumstances attending this novel service, than could be expected ; that had they been still higher, necessity would have justified compliance. It was intimated, that so great a force would be employed, that these troops would have little more to do than to shew themselves in America and return : that there was every reason to believe that the war would be terminated in a single campaign, in which case the terms would be found very advantageous : if indeed it should be protracted to a distant period, it was allowed that the expence would be enormous, but this was so improbable as to merit little consideration. The question was carried by the force of these reasonings in favor of the court, by a majority of 242 to 88 voices.—The same question was discussed with equal warmth in the house of peers, in consequence of a motion of the duke of Richmond for an address to the king, “ That his majesty would be pleased to countermand the march of these troops ;” and the duke of Cumberland, who had for some time past, as well as the duke of Gloucester, voted in the minority, “ lamented that Brunswickers, once the advocates of liberty in Europe, should now be sent to subjugate it in America.” The division was in this house no less in favor of the ministers than in that of the

commons ; the numbers, on putting the question, being 100 to 32. On a demand unexpectedly made by the secretary of war for the sum of 845,000*l.* for army extraordinaries, all the ardor of the opposition revived. They demonstrated, by a reference to the journals, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which saved the German empire, nor that of 1760, which was crowned by the conquest of Canada, had in any degree equalled the expence of the disgraceful campaign of the last year. Schellenburg and Blenheim were opposed to Lexington and Bunker's Hill ; and the river Mystic ludicrously contrasted with the Rhine and the Danube. The ministers, apparently overwhelmed with a torrent of wit, argument, and invective, relied on this occasion much more securely on the strength of their numbers than their cause, and the question on a division was carried by a majority of 180 to 57.

On the 14th of March, 1776, a very important motion was made by the duke of Grafton, "for an address to the king, that, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, a proclamation might be issued, declaring, that if the colonies shall present a petition to the commissioners appointed under the late act, setting forth what they consider to be their just rights and real grievances, that in such a case his majesty will consent to a suspension of arms ; and that assurance shall

shall be given them, that their petition shall be received, considered, and answered." This motion was designed and wisely calculated to supply the palpable deficiency of the late commission, which empowered the commissioners merely to grant pardons on submission, holding out by these means a mere delusive show of peace, without furnishing the means indispensable to its attainment. The noble mover observed, "that the adoption of the present motion, or of something equivalent to it, exclusive of the evident reasonableness of the thing, seemed to be rendered at this time absolutely necessary by two circumstances, to which his grace particularly called the attention of the house. The first was, the doctrine of UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION, so much insisted upon in the other house by the noble lord at the head of the American department. It was the object of the present motion to disarm the Americans of the rage and horror which this doctrine had excited in their minds, and to inculcate the idea that there were terms and conditions implying mutual concessions, on which a satisfactory and permanent accommodation might be founded, and their constitutional rights secured. The second circumstance to which the noble mover alluded, was the certain intelligence which his grace had himself received, that two French gentlemen, charged, as

there was good reason to believe, with a commission of high and momentous import, had lately been introduced by general Washington to the congress, with whom conferences had been actually commenced. Thus a direct interference on the part of foreign powers in our civil contentions had undoubtedly taken place, and from a most dangerous and hostile quarter. No time was therefore to be lost to counteract its effects, and upon the decision of the present moment the fate of the empire depended."

In vain were the powers of reason and eloquence exhausted in support of this motion. The spirit of infatuation and delusion seemed to have attained to its *acmé*. The lords in administration openly avowed and vindicated the doctrine of *unconditional submission*. They asserted, "that the power of granting pardons *with proper exceptions* was competent to every just and requisite purpose; they asserted the impossibility of an effectual assistance on the part of America; they declared their utter disregard and disbelief of any interference on the part of France, or any other foreign power, which, possessing colonies of its own, could never be so devoid of policy as to encourage the spirit of revolt in those of another nation;"—not in the least sensible that the whole tenor of their own conduct afforded the most striking proof how infinitely motives of pride, passion, and revenge,

venge, predominate in the heart of man and the councils of princes, over those of reason, policy, and discretion. After a debate, continued to a very late hour, the motion was rejected by 91 voices to 31; and from this moment all rational hope of conciliation vanished. What had been hitherto perfectly easy and feasible, now became, by a change of circumstances, desperate and hopeless; and on hearing the decision of this memorable day, it might with fatal prophetic certainty be pronounced, "TIME IS PAST."

This was the last debate of importance in the present session, which was terminated May 23, 1776, by a speech, in which his majesty was graciously pleased to intimate "his hope, that his *rebellious subjects* would still be awakened to a sense of their errors; at the same time expressing his confidence, that if due, i. e. *unconditional*, submission could not be obtained by a voluntary return to their duty, it would be effected by a full exertion of the great force entrusted to him." WAR, in its most hideous form, was now therefore waged, without any prospect or probability of accommodation. But though the ministerial majorities in both houses were so great, the nation at large might be considered as much more equally divided on this grand question. At the head of those who were zealous for the prosecution of the war in all its terrors may be accounted the KING himself,

who, being most unfortunately and dreadfully misinformed and misled in the whole of this business, conceived that the DIGNITY of his CROWN was best vindicated by those measures of coercion which could be carried into effect only by the devastation of his dominions and the slaughter of his subjects*. The powerful remains of the
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* MACHIAVEL, whose famous treatise *Del Principe* is by the more judicious supposed to be designed, as it is unquestionably calculated, to hold up the character of a prince who makes his own aggrandisement the sole object of his government to the detestation of mankind, and whose other political writings are unequivocally favorable to the cause of liberty, thus in his History of Florence represents the Florentines expostulating by the mouth of an ancient and venerable citizen with one of their sovereigns: "We are come, sir, in consequence of the order you have issued for assembling the people; It appears manifest to us, that you design by extraordinary means to obtain that which we have not been willing to grant to you. Your design is to enslave a state which has never yet lost its freedom. Have you well considered the importance which, in a state like this, the people annex to liberty, and how enthusiastically they are attached to its very name? This ardent love of freedom no force can overcome, no length of time can obliterate, no merit on the part of its destroyer can counter-balance. Consider the immense force which will be necessary to keep such a state enslaved.—You must calculate on having all the inhabitants of the country your enemies. If your opponents were few in number, you might extirpate them by banishment and the sword; but against universal hatred there can be found no remedy. It is now for you to decide, whether you will attempt to enslave this people—to keep them enslaved will be impossible; no citadel, no guards, no foreign force will be sufficient—or be content with the authority which

once numerous and now favored faction of the Tories, including a large proportion of the landed interest, recently combined by a strange political phenomenon with the veteran and faithful band of placemen, pensioners, and *king's friends*; and, in a word, all whose fortunes or expectancies depended on the smiles of the

we have voluntarily entrusted to you. This we sincerely wish both for our sakes and your own. For once again remember, that no dominion is durable which rests on any other foundation than the free and willing submission of the people." The history informs us, that the prince to whom this discourse was addressed, obstinately persisting in his wild and nefarious projects, was in a short time compelled to fly from Florence, and to seek for safety in an obscure and ignominious exile. *Delle Historie*, lib. ii. p. 106.—"There is," says the same celebrated writer, in the treatise *Del Principe*, cap. v. "no method of keeping possession of a conquered country so effectual as to impoverish or ruin it. Whoever becomes master of a state accustomed to freedom, unless he adopt this method, may expect soon to be driven out of it. For the name of liberty and their antient laws will be the unceasing incitement to rebellion.—There will be an eternal hatred, an eternal thirst for revenge, an eternal stimulus in the memory of their antient freedom; so that the most sure method of keeping them in subjection is to destroy or dissipate them." What Machiavel thus ironically and in the spirit of the most bitter and indignant sarcasm recommends, the English court at this period seemed, in the excess of a wretched and almost judicial insatiation, seriously to adopt as the rule and measure of its dismal and barbarous policy. "*Est quod gratias agamus Machiavello*," says lord Bacon, "*et hujusmodi scriptoribus, qui apertè et indissimulanter proferunt quid homines facere soleant, non quid debent.*" De Augm. Scient. l. vii. c. 2.

court, were to a man eager and ardent in their hopes and wishes to see America prostrate at his majesty's feet. A great majority of the clergy of the established church also entered into the views of the court, to which they were now cordially reconciled, with a degree of political fervor, heightened, as to many of them, into inexpressible malevolence against the colonies by the indelible taint of religious bigotry. The Americans were perpetually branded by this class of men, as fanatics, hypocrites, puritans, or, in one word, as SECTARIES—a term which in the ears of an high-churchman of the genuine stamp is far more hateful than that of infidel or atheist. The spirit of *high-churchism*, which is a compound essence exhaled from the ingredients of pride, ignorance, malice, prejudice and folly, has, during this reign, been in a regular and progressive state of increase; and as the same causes which have operated still continue to operate, it is probable that, until some violent convulsion is produced by a new Laudian or Sheldonian persecution, the tide will continue to flow in the same channel and direction. Exclusive of these different classes of men, it must also be acknowledged, that a considerable number of respectable persons, who valued themselves, however inconsistently, upon their attachment to *Whig principles*, joined the party of the court,
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from a most erroneous idea, that the principles of *Whiggism* inculcated the doctrine of the OMNIPOTENCE OF PARLIAMENT; not considering that the essential and immutable difference subsisting in the relative situations of Great Britain and America made that doctrine, which, in opposition to the arbitrary power of the crown, was considered as the basis of liberty in England, the essence of tyranny to the colonies; and the unrestrained power of taxation in particular was on several accounts more likely to be abused by a popular assembly, in its exercise over a distant community, than by an absolute monarch.

On the other hand, the great body of the Whigs, headed by various families of the highest rank, to whom power had been chiefly entrusted since the æra of the revolution till the accession of the present sovereign, held the war in abhorrence and detestation; and they conceived resistance to be equally justifiable to the tyranny of the many as of the few, or the mere will of a despot. The commercial part of the community, with the city of London conspicuous in the van, were for the most part extremely averse to the war, from which they experienced great inconvenience; and which, unfettered by the entanglements of political theories, they perceived by the clear light of common sense to have no rational end or object. A considerable
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proportion of the clergy, men candid, impartial, intelligent, and truly attached to the principles of civil and religious liberty, joined in lamenting this disastrous and fatal quarrel *. The whole body of dissenters, and sectaries of all denominations, threw the entire weight of their numbers and influence into the same scale: many of these employed their pens ably and eloquently in the cause of America; amongst whom by far the most distinguished was the celebrated Dr. Richard Price, a dissenting minister of

* Among the liberal and enlightened sons of the established church, Dr. Watson, Regius professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, now bishop of Landaff, gained great and deserved applause by a fast sermon preached during the heat of this horrid contention before the university. "It is," as he declares, "the infelicity of party to transgress the bounds of charity, decency, and good sense.—Truth however is of no party; and surely there is truth in saying, that the empire is brought into a calamitous situation, that she now stands tottering on the very verge of ruin, affrighted and amazed. Unhappy Britain, how art thou fallen! From being the queen of isles thou art become the derision of nations! You may *force* large bodies of men to continue members of your civil community by the fear of the mischief which you may do them if they should attempt to quit your connection; but this is an impolitic and an unchristian yoke of civil union, imposed by tyrants, and submitted to by none but slaves—or you may induce them to it by the superior equity and wisdom of your scheme of government, by making it their interest to be united to you." An union which has fear for its basis must be subverted as soon as the occasion of fear can be removed.

of extraordinary learning and talents, who had recently written with profound skill on the subject of the national finances, and the powers of the sinking fund; the restoration of which he urged with great energy. And his ideas on the subject, though long treated as chimerical, have been at length adopted by the present minister, Mr. Pitt, whose famous Sinking Fund Bill was framed in strict conformity to the ideas suggested by this excellent and disinterested patriot, who disdained any other reward than that resulting from the consciousness of the services he had rendered to his country. On the present occa-

moved. But an union cemented by a participation of equal laws, rights, and immunities, will not be broken in the day of trial. Blessings upon the head of that man who can yet devise the means of bringing back to their allegiance three millions of our trans-atlantic brethren!—not of dragging of them to the foot of the throne (that is the language of tyranny and passion), but of binding them to it in the cords of love—not of bringing them back upon the impolitic principle of “unconditional submission,” (that is treating the defection of half a mighty empire like the insurrection of a paltry district) but of re-uniting them to this kingdom upon the broad basis of sincere good will, commercial interest, and constitutional freedom!—RULER of NATIONS! if in thy judgment we are engaged with our brethren in an unrighteous cause, we should think it an impious mockery to supplicate thy protection. We ask instruction—beseeching thee to illumine the understandings of our rulers with the knowledge of what is right, and to influence their hearts, that knowing they may do it. Thou hast broken the pride of our power; we accept the punishment of our iniquity.”

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sion he published "OBSERVATIONS on the Justice and Policy of the WAR with AMERICA," which had a rapid and prodigious sale, and produced an incredible number of replies; for to reply was easy, though to confute impossible. "IN a FREE STATE," says this admirable writer, "all the springs of action have room to operate, and the mind is stimulated to the noblest exertions. The subjects of free states have in all ages been most distinguished for genius and knowledge. With what lustre do the antient free states of Greece shine in the annals of the world! How different is that country now under the Great Turk! The difference between a country inhabited by MEN and by BRUTES is not greater. These are reflections which should be constantly present to every mind in this country. There is nothing that requires more to be watched than power; there is nothing that ought to be opposed with more determined resolution than its encroachments. Sleep in a state, as Montesquieu says, is always followed by slavery. In governing distant provinces, and adjusting the clashing interests of different societies, it is particularly necessary to make a sparing use of power in order to preserve power. Happy would it have been for Great Britain had this been remembered by those who have lately conducted its affairs. But our policy has been of
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another kind. By a progression of violent measures, every one of which has increased distress, we have given the world reason to conclude, that we know no other mode of governing than by force. But our rulers should have considered that freemen will always revolt at the sight of a naked sword, and that the complicated affairs of a great kingdom holding in subordination to it a multitude of distant communities, all jealous of their rights, and warmed with spirits as high as our own, require not only the most skilful but the most cautious and tender management. The consequence of a different management we are now feeling. We see ourselves driven among rocks, and in danger of being lost: pride and the love of dominion are principles hateful enough, but blind resentment and the desire of revenge are infernal principles. One cannot help indeed being astonished at the virulence with which some speak, on the present occasion, of the colonies—For, what have they done? Have they crossed the ocean and invaded us? Have they attempted to take from us the fruits of our labor, and to overturn that form of government which we hold so sacred? On the contrary, this is what we have done to them. We have transported ourselves to their peaceful retreats, and employed our fleets and armies to stop up their ports, to destroy their commerce,
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and to burn their towns;—and yet it is we who imagine ourselves ill-used. Had we never deserted our old ground; had we nourished and favored America with a view to commerce; instead of considering it as a country to be governed; had we, like a liberal and wise people, rejoiced to see a multitude of free states branching forth from ourselves, all enjoying independent legislatures similar to our own; had we aimed at binding them to us only by the ties of affection and interest, and contented ourselves with a moderate power rendered durable by being lenient and friendly, an umpire in their differences, an aid to them in improving their own free governments; and their common bulwark against the assaults of foreign enemies; had this been our policy and temper, there is nothing so great or happy that we might not have expected. Instead of this, how have we acted?—It is in truth too evident, that our whole conduct has been nothing, to say the best of it, but a series of the blindest rigor followed by retraction—of violence followed by concession—of mistake, weakness, and inconsistency. Did ever Heaven punish the vices of a people more severely by darkening their councils? In the Netherlands, a few states, similarly circumstanced with those of America, withstood for 30 years the whole force of the Spanish monarchy
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when at its zenith, and at last humbled its pride, and emancipated itself from its tyranny. The citizens of Syracuse, also thus circumstanced, withstood the whole power of the Athenians. The same happened in the contest between the house of Austria and the cantons of Switzerland. There is an infinite difference between fighting to destroy and fighting to preserve liberty. Were we therefore capable of employing a force against America equal to its own, there would be little probability of success; but to think of conquering that whole continent with thirty or forty thousand men, to be transported across the Atlantic, and fed from hence, and incapable of being recruited after any defeat,—*this* is indeed a folly so great, that language does not afford a name for it. Perhaps I am not in the present instance free from the weakness of superstition, but I fancy I see in these measures something that cannot be accounted for merely by human ignorance. I am inclined to think that the hand of Providence is in them, working to bring about some great ends. But suppose the attempt to subjugate America successful, would it not be a fatal preparative for subduing yourselves? Would not the disposal of American places, and the distribution of an American revenue, render that influence of the crown irresistible which has already stabbed your liberties? Turn your eyes
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to INDIA: there, more has been done than is now attempted in America: there, Englishmen, actuated by the love of plunder and the spirit of conquest, have depopulated whole kingdoms, and ruined millions of innocent people by the most infamous oppression and rapacity. The justice of the nation has slept over these enormities. Will the JUSTICE of HEAVEN sleep? ARE WE NOT NOW EXECRATED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE GLOBE?" —For this publication the writer was deservedly honored with the thanks of the city of London, and the freedom of that metropolis was presented to him in a gold box, by an unanimous vote of the corporate body.

During the pause of anxious suspense preceding the commencement of the memorable campaign of 1776 in America, it will not be improper to take a general review of the state of Europe for some years past, and of its actual situation; his majesty having in his late speech asserted, that the disposition of the several powers of the continent promised a continuance of the general tranquillity.

FRANCE, in an historic sketch of this kind, must necessarily occupy the fore-ground of the picture. The death of Louis XV. who, for the long term of nine-and-fifty years, reigned with absolute and arbitrary sway over that vast monarchy, had taken place nearly at the commencement

ment of the present troubles (May 10th, 1774). He was succeeded by his grandson Louis the Dauphin, who had scarcely as yet attained the twentieth year of his age. This young prince had in the year 1770 married the arch-duchess Marie Antoinette, daughter of the empress-queen—a princess endowed with all the fascinating graces of her sex; by which apparently auspicious alliance, according to the short-sighted views of human policy, the peace of Europe, so often disturbed by the contentions of the rival houses of Bourbon and Austria, seemed to be firmly cemented and secured. A great acquisition of revenue and territory had recently accrued to France by the death of Stanislaus, king of Poland (February 1766), in a far advanced age; in consequence of which event, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, possessed by that monarch in full property during his life, reverted to France, agreeably to the treaty concluded A. D. 1736, with the court of Vienna, under the fortunate auspices of cardinal Fleury.

The latter years of the life of the late king of France were passed in a series of political conflicts with the several parliaments of that kingdom, particularly the parliament of Paris; which high and august tribunal still retained, by means of its constitutional privilege of enregistering the royal edicts, without which they had no legal validity,

some degree of control over the actions of the monarch. And this relic of their antient independency, by which alone the sacred fire of liberty could be discerned to exist in France, the parliament appeared with reason to guard with the most vigilant jealousy. An edict having been issued in the royal name, by which new and extraordinary powers were transferred to the great council, incompatible with the established rights of the parliaments of the kingdom, remonstrances were presented to the king from most of those bodies; and in that offered by the parliament of Paris (May 19, 1768) is the following remarkable passage:—"Your parliament, sire, is not afraid on this head to remind your majesty of the ever memorable words which the first president Harley addressed to Henry III. in 1586. 'Sire,' said the magistrate, 'we have two sorts of laws:—one sort are the ordonnances of our kings, and these may be altered according to the differences of times and circumstances; the other sort are the ordonnances of the kingdom, which are inviolable, and by which you ascend to the throne and to the crown, which your predecessors preserved. Among these public laws, that is of the most sacred kind, and has been most religiously kept by your predecessors, which orders that no law or ordinance shall be published but what is verified in this assembly.—They thought a viola-

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tion of this law was a violation of that by which they were made kings.' "

It was afterwards proposed, at an extraordinary session, to state to the king that the existence of the grand council itself was a grievance. This however was negatived, the duc de Choiseul and the princes of the blood attending in person to oppose the motion, by a majority of two voices; and the parliament contented itself with presenting another memorial to the king, shewing the necessity of ascertaining the limits of its jurisdiction, and securing the parliament against its encroachments by a clear and positive law. But the parliament of Toulouse, less moderate, issued an arrêt by which all persons were forbidden, under severe penalties, to conform to or execute any judgment of the grand council within the province of Languedoc.

Scarcely had the ferments excited by this obnoxious procedure of the court in any degree subsided, when a new and far more serious contest arose in consequence of the memorable prosecution commenced in the parliament of Paris against the duc d'Aiguillon, governor of the province of Bretagne, for high crimes and misdemeanours in the administration of his government. While the nation was waiting in anxious suspense the result of this trial, which had already disclosed a scene of cruelty and injustice scarcely

to be paralleled, the king thought proper to hold a *bed of justice*, in which he commanded an edict to be enregistered, suppressing the charges brought against this nobleman, and prohibiting any farther proceedings against him. The parliament of Paris, on re-assembling, issued an arrêt, by which the duke was forbidden to take his seat in parliament, or to exercise any of the functions of the peerage, till a legal acquittal had taken place. This arrêt was annulled by a decree of the king in council, declaring it to be an infringement of the royal authority.

The parliament notwithstanding, by a solemn act, confirmed their former resolution; and strong representations were made to the king by the different *chambers*, particularly by that of the peers and princes of the blood, against his proceedings, as subversive of all law, justice, and equity. The provincial parliaments also passed arrêts in approbation and confirmation of that of Paris, and the duchy of Aiguillon was sequestered till the trial of the duke should be legally terminated. At length the king in person, attended by his guards, entered without any previous notice the parliament house, and, after reproaching the members in the severest terms, ordered all the judicial acts against the duc d'Aiguillon to be erased from their registers; and, in menacing language, prohibited all revival of the proceedings against him.

him. The parliament nevertheless, unintimidated, issued at their next meeting another arrêt, in which they declare, that the many acts of arbitrary power, exercised both against the spirit and letter of the constitution of the French monarchy, and the solemn oath of the king, leave no room to doubt of a premeditated design to change the form of government. The dispute continued with increasing violence to the following year. The king having caused by force an edict to be enregistered, by which the indispensable obligation of the sovereign courts of justice to enregister the royal edicts, even in opposition to their own sentiments and remonstrances, was explicitly declared, the parliament entered a solemn protest against the same, as contrary to the laws they had sworn to defend, and resolved upon a total suspension of the functions of the courts.

The mandate of the king to revoke this decree being peremptorily rejected, the members of the parliament were, in the night of the 19th of January 1771, severally arrested by virtue of *lettres de cachet*, and a new tribunal was erected in the room of the exiled parliament, composed of men entirely devoted to the court. Scarcely had they entered into office when they were formally pronounced, by an arrêt of the parliament of Rouen, to be intruders, usurpers, and enemies to the state. The court, irritated and enraged,

had determined on the most violent measures ; but the duc de Harcourt, governor of Normandy, refused to take the command of the troops appointed for this service. The other provincial parliaments, adopting a similar line of conduct, were in the course of the year suppressed and banished ; and new parliaments, wholly dependent on the court, substituted in their room at Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Toulouse, and Rennes. To shew the utter contempt of the court for the public opinion, the duc de Choiseul, who had indicated a disposition in some degree favorable to the rising spirit of liberty, was dismissed with unusual marks of resentment and disgrace, and the duc d'Aiguillon succeeded him in the office of first minister.

The agitation of the nation at these proceedings cannot be expressed. The monarch became the object of universal reproach and execration ; and not the monarch merely, but the monarchy itself. That form of government to which the French nation had been for ages so zealously attached, sunk most sensibly in the public estimation. The tide of opinion began to flow in an opposite direction, and a republican party was visibly forming, which, however small in its beginnings, might well be regarded, under that corrupt and depraved government, as truly dangerous and formidable. Scarcely were the
appearances

appearances of decorum preserved on the death of the king ; and the appellation of *Louis le désiré*, unanimously given to his successor, was the bitterest satire on his memory *.

The young monarch, desirous of recommending himself to the favor of his subjects, began his reign with the dismissal of the duc d'Aiguillon, and his detestable co-adjutors, the chancellor Maupeou, and the comptroller-general l'abbé Terrai, which was regarded as the certain prelude of the restoration of the ancient parliaments ; and on the 12th November, 1774, the recall of the parliament of Paris took place amid the unbounded acclamations of the people. The language of the monarch on this memorable occasion was nevertheless very high and haughty. In his speech on holding the bed of justice, he declared to the parliament, " that he was determined to preserve his authority in all its plenitude, and that he expected they would give to his subjects an example of submission." He told them, " that the king his grandfather was com-

* " The king died at Choisy, May 10, 1774. In 48 hours afterwards his corpse was conveyed to St. Dennis ; the public-houses upon the road were filled with drunkards singing for joy. He was interred without pomp or ceremony, and the surname of *Louis le désiré* unanimously given to his successor clearly evinced how generally he had incurred the contempt and indignation of the people."

Private Life of Louis XV.

pelled, by their resistance to his repeated commands, to adopt such measures as his wisdom suggested; and that as he had thought proper to recall them to the exercise of those functions which they ought never to have quitted, he desired them to learn to prize his favors, and never to lose the remembrance of their extent." A royal ordinance was then read, containing the various limitations by which the monarch thought proper to restrain the authority of this assembly—one very important article of which peremptorily required the parliament to enregister the royal edicts in one month at farthest after the day of their publication, unless the king should *graciously permit* the repetition of their remonstrances; and his majesty concluded with a promise of "his royal protection and countenance so long as they *exactly conformed* to what he had prescribed, and they did not attempt to enlarge the bounds of the power which was *granted to them*."

It very soon appeared, after the accession of the new monarch, though himself of a disposition pacific and unambitious, and extremely limited in his capacity, how little dependence was to be placed on the amity and good faith of France. A powerful party immediately arose at the court, of which the QUEEN, a woman of high spirit, busy, bold, and blind to consequences, was considered as the head. Dissolute in her manners,

ners, unprincipled in her morals, faithless in her promises, this princess wanted only the talents of her predecessor Catharine of Medicis to be as illustriously distinguished for guilt—BUT HER MISFORTUNES HAVE ATONED. This faction burned with a desire to avenge the disgraces of the last war ; and America received every encouragement to persist in her resistance to the oppression of England, that was consistent with even the appearance of a decent regard to the occasional remonstrances and memorials of the court of London. The queen also was believed to be actuated by an ardent desire of advancing the interests of the house of Austria, by involving France in contentions which would effectually prevent any interposition of that power in opposition to the schemes of aggrandizement projected by her brother the emperor. In the mean time the views of M. de Maurepas, the new minister, were assiduously directed to the extension of commerce, and the re-establishment of the French marine.

“ The situation of France,” says the king of Prussia in reference to the present period, “ though far from brilliant, did not the less merit the attention of other powers. Her debts made it impracticable for her to sustain a long war ; but, strong in her alliance with Spain, and in the assistance thence to be derived, she
was

was watching the moment to fall like a falcon upon her prey, and avenge herself upon Great Britain for the disasters she had suffered during the preceding war. England was at this time, under the YOKK of the TORIERS, engaged in a ruinous contest which augmented the national debts thirty-six millions of crowns per annum. For the purpose of striking a blow upon her right arm with her left, she exhausted all her resources, and advanced with hasty steps to her decline and fall. Her ministers ACCUMULATED faults; but of all these the greatest was the WAR with AMERICA, from which no possible advantage could result. She had needlessly, and without reason, embroiled herself with all the surrounding powers; and to her own misconduct only could England ascribe that state of desertion and general abandonment in which she now found herself*.”

That union of counsels which since the æra of the Family Compact had marked the politics of the Bourbon courts, still subsisted in its full vigor. In order to consolidate the friendship of the two crowns, the late king of France had made an entire cession of the province of Louisiana to Spain, without any other apparent motive or equivalent. In his Most Christian

* *Œuvres de Frederic II.* vol. iv. p. 164, 165.

majesty's letter, dated April 21, 1764, to M. d'Abadie, director-general and commandant of the colony of Louisiana, notifying this extraordinary cession, he says, " By a special act done at Fontainebleau (Nov. 3d, 1762), of my own will and mere motion having ceded to my very dear and best beloved cousin the king of Spain, and his successors, in full property, purely and simply, and without any exceptions, the whole country known by the name of Louisiana, together with New Orléans, and the island in which the said city is situated : You are, on the receipt of these presents, to deliver up, to the governor or officer appointed by the king of Spain, the said country and colony of Louisiana."

The discontents prevailing in Spain since the accession of the present king, and which at length broke out in open insurrection, were appeased by the dismissal of the marquis de Squillacio, and the other Neapolitans who had accompanied the sovereign from Italy; and the attention of the court of Madrid had been for some years chiefly occupied with the means of effecting the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom; which was at length carried into execution with circumstances of relentless cruelty, not inferior to those which distinguished the expulsion of the Moriscoes in the last century.

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The other branches of the house of Bourbon, France, Naples, and Parma, followed the example set by Spain; and this once famous and flourishing order of religionists now found themselves in almost every country the objects of reproach, hatred, and persecution. Urgent solicitations were made by the Catholic powers to the pope Clement XIII. for the utter abolition of this order; but the holy father, notwithstanding the seizure of Avignon by France, and Benevento by Naples, in order to enforce a compliance, persisted in a peremptory and positive refusal.

A very remarkable edict having been published by the infant duke of Parma, virtually annihilating the authority of the papal see in his dominions, the Roman pontiff issued, January 1767, a BULL against the duke, in terms which the haughtiest of his predecessors could scarcely have exceeded. By this instrument the pope claimed to himself the sovereignty of the duchy of Parma, and declared the duke to be only his feudatory. He pronounced, on the authority of the church, and of former decisions of his predecessors, that ecclesiastics are not subject to any temporal power or laic jurisdiction; and that, seeing the duke had been guilty of an infringement of the immunities of the church, he had justly incurred its heaviest censures; and
unless

unless he desisted from his rash enterprize, he now gave him warning, "that the sentence of excommunication would be denounced against him, and his dominions laid under an interdict." Nor on the joint application of the courts of France, Spain, and Vienna, would his holiness deign to revoke this decree, or even admit the ambassadors of these powers to an audience. As the common father of the faithful, the pope disclaimed indeed every idea of executing any decree of the Holy See by the aid of temporal force, were it in his power. On the contrary, he declared himself ready, after the example of his predecessors, to suffer whatever personal injury might befall him, and to go into exile wherever it might be thought proper to send him, rather than betray the interests of religion and of the church. The Holy See, he added, was not accustomed to revoke its judgments, which were never passed till after the most mature deliberation, and always with the assistance of the Holy Ghost. At length, loaded with years, with grief and infirmities, this arrogant and inflexible pontiff sunk into his grave; and the famous Ganganelli, who assumed the name of Clement XIV. was, after the conclave had sat three months, elected, May 1769, to the vacant chair of St. Peter. The pontificate of Ganganelli was rendered for ever memorable by the abolition of
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the order of the Jesuits, in virtue of a bull, issued A. D. 1773, charging them with having adopted opinions scandalous, contrary to good morals, and of dangerous import to the church and all Christian states.

This pontiff died in the course of the next year (1774) universally beloved and regretted, not without suspicion of poison, of which he is said to have been himself previously apprehensive; but of this no sufficient evidence has been produced. He was succeeded by cardinal Braschi, who took the appellation of Pius VI. Nearly at the same time died Charles Emanuel king of Sardinia, after a reign of forty-three years. He succeeded to the throne on the resignation of his father in 1730, and governed his dominions with great prudence and felicity. His son, Victor Amadeus, after the acquisition of Corsica by France, perceiving the ascendancy acquired by the house of Bourbon, entered into a strict alliance with the court of Versailles—the princess Clotilda, sister to the king of France, marrying the prince of Piedmont; and the two princesses, daughters of his Sardinian majesty, espousing the counts de Provence and d'Artois, brothers of his Most Christian majesty.

In the north of Europe Russia still maintained her full ascendancy, and the predominance which she had acquired in the affairs of Poland
was

was opposed not by the glorious ardor of civil liberty, but by a wretched and miserable spirit of religious bigotry; and the majority of the diet, instigated by the BISHOPS, still persisted in refusing to the dissidents, who were chiefly of the Greek church, that liberty of conscience to which they were entitled, not merely by the rights of nature, but by the most express and solemn conventions.

In the year 1563, a law worthy to be inscribed in letters of gold on a table of adamant was enacted at the diet of Wilna, under the sanction of Sigismund Augustus, the greatest of the Polish monarchs, declaring, "that all those of the equestrian and noble orders, whether of Lithuanian, Polish, or Russian extraction, in every part of his dominions, shall be eligible to all honors, dignities, and trusts, without distinction, or exception, according to his merit, provided he profess the Christian religion." This law, while it continued in force, was productive of the most salutary effects; but the crown of Poland too soon descending to weak and bigoted princes, the oppressions of the dissidents * recommenced

* It is observable that the term *dissidents*, according to its original import, was not used in Poland as in England, to denote merely the separatists from the national church; but equally comprehended the members of the establishment—all the various

commenced in various forms. After many vicissitudes of fortune, by the pacification of Oliva, A. D. 1660, their rights and privileges were at length completely restored and guarantied by England, Sweden, and the other high contracting parties to that famous treaty. Nevertheless, under the two last monarchs of the Protestant house of Saxony, who, in the genuine spirit of apostacy, were eager to signalize their zeal for the faith they had so recently embraced, Persecution, which had long mourned over her broken wheel, again reared her gorgon crest ;

various sects and professions, Romish, Greek, or Protestant, *dissenting* reciprocally from the dogmas held by each other. This is the rational and equitable sense affixed to the term in the famous decree of the diet of Wilna. In the *Pacta Conventa* framed by the diet assembled after the death of Sigismund Augustus, and which confirmed the principle of toleration in its largest extent, the following clause was inserted, as part of the coronation oath : " I will keep peace among the DISSIDENTS." Henry of Valois, on his subsequent election, hesitating to signify his assent to the universal toleration recognized and established by the instrument of government, one of the Polish Palatines cried out, " Unless your majesty confirms this article, you cannot be king of Poland." It is scarcely conceivable, that, after a people had experienced so long the happy effects of liberal and enlightened policy, it should relapse into that intellectual darkness which has at length terminated in the utter ruin of the Polish name and nation. What a lesson for England ! where, during the course of the present inauspicious and unfortunate reign, the spirit of bigotry, of persecution, and intolerance, has made so rapid and alarming a progress !

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and, notwithstanding the wisdom and moderation of the present sovereign, and the powerful intercession of the courts of Berlin, London, and Petersburg, the most severe and unjust edicts passed against them. Conceiving themselves devoted to destruction, they at length flew to arms, and, being supported by the power of Russia, the whole kingdom, divided into opposite CONFESSIONARIES, became for a succession of years a scene of the most dreadful misery and confusion; nor would the blind rage characteristic of civil and religious discord permit the infatuated Poles to perceive that, by these senseless and horrid contentions, they were exhausting the vital strength of their country, and offering themselves up an easy prey to the rapacity of foreign invaders.

In an excellent memorial presented by Mr. Wroughton, the English resident at Warsaw, November 1766, the memorialist says, "Although the rights and privileges of the dissenters are founded on a doctrine whose principles of charity and benevolence make it characteristic of Christianity, yet it is this religion of which the exercise is disturbed, and of which the professors are excluded from all honorable employ, and deprived of all means of serving their country; and the ambassador urges in the name of the king his master, that, with regard to their eccle-

fiastical and civil rights, the dissidents may be re-established on the sacred foundations of the treaty of Oliva."—Happy would it have been had England herself adhered to that wise policy which she so earnestly recommended to Poland. But while she was thus laudably solicitous to extend the shield of her protection to the Polish dissidents, she forgot that her own code of laws inflicted the most cruel and oppressive penalties upon the same class of citizens within her own dominion; and that the dissidents of England also were the objects of a legal proscription. That the same direful consequences did not result from these laws was to be imputed solely to that prevailing spirit of lenity, characteristic *till a recent period* of the temper of the times, which forbade or impeded their execution. If any certain conclusion can be deduced from reason, experience, and the uniform tenor of history, it is; that toleration in its fullest extent is a principle in the highest degree salutary and beneficial; and that intolerance in any shape or mode never yet appeared without producing a correspondent measure of animosity, discord, and misery *.

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* On the theory and practice of government, unbiassed by views of personal aggrandizement, there can be no greater authority adduced than that of the king of Prussia. On the subject of toleration, he says, "De sombres politiques vous diront, Tout le monde doit être de la même opinion, pour que

It is not to be imagined that Turkey, who regarded the growing greatness of Russia with anxious and envious apprehension, could be satisfied to remain a mere spectator of the troubles in Poland. Repeated demands were made by the Porte to the court of Petersburg, to withdraw her armies from the territories of the republic, and to maintain that neutrality which the Porte itself had religiously observed. These remonstrances were either wholly neglected, or produced only vague and evasive declarations; and in the frequent conflicts which took place between the Russian troops and the *Catholic confederates* near

rien ne divise les citoyens. Le théologien ajoute, Quiconque ne pense pas comme moi est damné; il faut donc les détruire dans ce monde pour qu'ils prospèrent d'autant mieux dans l'autre. Mais si l'on remonte à l'origine de la société, il est tout-à-fait évident que le souverain n'a aucun droit sur la façon de penser des citoyens. Ne faudroit-il pas être en DEMENCE pour se figurer que des hommes ont dit à un homme leur semblable—Nous vous élevons au dessus de nous parceque nous aimons l'esclavage, et nous vous donnons la puissance de diriger nos pensées à votre volonté? Ils ont dit au contraire: Nous avons besoin de vous pour maintenir les lois auxquelles nous voulons obéir, pour nous gouverner sagement, pour nous défendre. Du reste, nous exigeons de vous que vous respectiez notre liberté. Voilà la sentence prononcée; ELLE est SANS APPEL; et même cette tolérance est si avantageuse aux sociétés où elle est établie qu'elle fait le bonheur de l'état. Dès que tout culte est libre tout le monde est tranquille: au lieu que la persécution a donné lieu aux guerres civiles les plus sanglantes, les plus longues, et les plus destructives."—*Œuvres de Frederic III.* tome iv.

the borders of the Turkish empire, the rights of sovereignty were occasionally violated, and many causes of complaint occurred. At length matters were brought to a crisis by the sack of the town of Balta in Lesser Tartary, to which a party of the confederates had fled for refuge, and which was immediately attacked and carried sword in hand by the Russians, who massacred great numbers of the inhabitants. On receiving intelligence of this event at Constantinople, M. Obrescow, resident of the court of St. Petersburg, was at an extraordinary meeting of the divan required to sign articles, importing satisfaction for the injuries sustained, and the immediate withdrawing of the Russian troops from Poland; and on his refusal, the ambassador was committed (October 1768) prisoner to the castle of the Seven Towers,

The war which ensued between the two empires exhibits an almost continued series of triumphs on the part of the Russians *. After the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube,

* When M. de Vergennes, ambassador from France to Constantinople, wrote in reply to the orders he had received to use his utmost influence to make the Porte declare war against Russia. "I will make the Turks take arms whenever you please, but I must previously inform you they will be beaten: that this war will turn out contrary to your intentions, by rendering Russia more glorious and more powerful." He shewed himself, undoubtedly, a greater politician than the duc de Choiseul.—*Private Life of Louis XV.*

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the Russian commander, marshal Romanzoff, passed that great river, and carried his victorious arms into the kingdom of Bulgaria, where the Turkish crescent, elevated on the ruins of the Christian cross, had reigned for centuries unmolested. By sea the efforts of the court of St. Petersburg were no less extraordinary. A fleet under count Orloff, with many able English officers on board, sailing from the Gulph of Finland in the summer of 1770, entered the Mediterranean, and totally defeated the Turkish fleet in the channel of Scio; the shattered remains of which retiring for safety to the harbour of Chesme, on the coast of Natolia, were by means of fire-ships in the night after the battle entirely destroyed, and all Europe saw with astonishment the Russian Eagle flying triumphant over the Archipelago, and menacing with attack the city of Constantinople itself. The Turkish government was at the same time alarmed by a general revolt of the Greeks in the Morea; by a rebellion in Egypt, headed by the famous Ali Bey; by another in Syria, conducted by Cheik Daher; and a fourth in Georgia, under prince Heraclius; so that the enormous fabric of that unwieldy and ill-compacted empire seemed to totter to its fall. These various insurrections were however finally suppressed, and peace concluded with Russia at Kainardgi,

July 1774, on the humiliating terms of ceding to Russia the whole country between the Bog and the Nieper ; of consenting to the absolute independency of the Crimea ; and of allowing to the shipping of Russia a free navigation in all the Turkish seas, including the passage through the Dardanelles. The grand seignor Mustapha III. did not live to the conclusion of this disastrous war. He ascended the throne of the Ottomans, A. D. 1757, on the death of his uncle Osman III. who had three years before succeeded his brother Mahomet V. The late sultan Mustapha, agreeably to the laws antiently established in Turkey, was succeeded, after an eventful reign of sixteen years, by his brother Abdul-Hamet, or Achmet IV. ; sultan Selim, eldest son of the late emperor, not having yet attained the age of majority.

During the continuance of this war, a grand object was formed by the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, originally suggested by the inventive genius of the king of Prussia, for the partition of Poland. Different interviews had taken place between the king and the emperor at Neisse in Silesia, August 1769, and at Neustadt in Moravia the following year, in which mutual protestations of regard and inviolable friendship were exchanged with the usual sincerity of princes. The judgment passed by the unerring penetration of the Prussian monarch respecting

specting the emperor, at this early period of his life, was, " that with a disposition to learn he had not patience enough to be instructed." On the accession of the empress of Russia to this conspiracy of sovereigns, manifestoes were published A. D. 1772, by all these powers, stating their claims and pretensions to such provinces as happened to be most commodious for their purpose, and lying contiguous to their own territories. To Russia was allotted the whole country westward of the rivers Dwina and Nieper. The emperor seized upon a vast tract of land, extending from the frontiers of Moravia to the province of Volhynia, and situated in a direct course to the northward of Hungary and Transylvania, on which the pompous appellations were bestowed of the kingdoms of Galicia and Ludomiria. The whole of Royal Prussia, with some adjoining districts of Great Poland, fell to the share of the king of Prussia, all which he claimed as his clear and indisputable right ; it being, as this monarch was pleased to affirm in his manifesto, **NOTORIOUS**, " that the kings of Poland did many ages ago violently disseise the dukes of Pomerania, the dukes of Stettin, and the dukes of Dantzick, his majesty's ancestors, of those dominions, which his majesty, as sole heir and universal successor of all these dukes, now so justly and equitably reclaimed." In vain did the king and diet of Po-

land protest against these unheard-of claims and extravagant pretensions. In vain did they appeal to all Europe, that the dominions of the republic were not only secured to them by the prescription of centuries, but were guarantied by the most solemn treaties; and that, should an act of such enormous perfidy and injustice be permitted or connived at, every principle of public faith would be subverted, and nations must hereafter acknowledge no other law than that of force. The diet was in the end compelled to ratify these claims: and at the same time important alterations were made in the constitution of the republic, by which the power of the crown was still farther reduced, particularly in the establishment of a permanent executive council, in which the monarch presided with only a single voice. All these atrocious proceedings so nearly and deeply affecting the balance of power on the continent, were viewed with apparent indifference by the great potentates of Europe; particularly by England, then intent on her desperate projects of American subjugation; although in latter times the possession of a single town * has been thought so materially to affect that balance, as to justify a war for the sole purpose of effecting its restoration. A grand alliance, projected by the cabinet of Versailles, between the courts of Ver-

* Оczакow.

sailes,

faillies, London, Madrid, and Turin, in order to counterbalance that subsisting between the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin, not meeting with encouragement from England, perished in embryo *.

The situation of the Scandinavian courts yet remains to be described. Frederic V. king of Denmark had departed this life in January 1766. He was a just, wise, and beneficent prince; the friend and father of his subjects, by whom he was beloved with unfeigned ardor, and who bedewed his monument with the tears of gratitude and affection. He was succeeded by his son Christian VII. who in a few months after his accession espoused the princess Carolina Matilda, youngest sister of the king of England. Soon after this marriage the young monarch left his kingdom, actuated by a restless and roving desire of visiting foreign countries. In the year

* This is a fact well known in France, and mentioned by several French writers. In Mr. Burke's Memorial on the State of Affairs, A. D. 1791, he confirms their testimony in the following terms. "To my certain knowledge, if Great Britain had at that time been willing to concur in preventing the execution of a project so dangerous in the example, even exhausted as France then was by the preceding war, she would at every risk have taken an active part in this business. But a languor with regard to so remote an interest, and the principles and passions which were then strongly at work at home, were the causes why Great Britain would not give France any encouragement in such an enterprise."

1768 he arrived in England, where he was entertained with great magnificence; whence he passed into France and Germany, and did not return to his dominions till the following year. The apparent weakness and incapacity of the king, on his assuming the reins of government, sufficiently demonstrated that he had gained no valuable accession of knowledge by his late travels. A certain German physician, of the name of Struensee, who had attended the king abroad, had acquired the entire ascendancy over him, and being created a count was placed at the head of affairs; the ministers of the late king, counts Bernstorff, Holke, &c. being previously disgraced. With the rash presumption incident to sudden and unmerited prosperity, this man attempted to introduce many innovations into the government and police of the kingdom, by which he made himself universally odious. The very high favor in which he evidently stood with the queen also gave rise to imputations little to the advantage of her majesty's character. At length, by an unexpected and extraordinary court-revolution, conducted by the queen dowager and her son prince Frederic, Struensee and his principal partisans were arrested under the sanction of a warrant compulsorily signed by the king. The queen herself was committed close prisoner to the castle of Cronenburg, January 1772. In the sequel,
Struensee

Struensee suffered on a public scaffold ; and the queen, against whom it was for some time a subject of doubt whether a capital process should not be instituted, was allowed, through the powerful interposition of England, to retire from the Danish dominions, and found an asylum in the city of Zell, where, after residing some years, she died in neglect and obscurity.

The events which passed nearly at the same time in Sweden were of a nature, in a political view, far more important and interesting. High disputes had for many years subsisted between the king and the senate. At length, in consequence of a refusal of the senate to convoke an extraordinary diet, which the king declared to be absolutely necessary to remedy the evils which distracted the state, an instrument was signed by the king, and delivered by the prince royal to the different *colleges* of justice, of finance, and of war, by which the king notified to them in form, that until the states were convoked he found himself under the necessity of abdicating the government. This was a measure of deep policy, and at the same time of great popularity, the senate having rendered themselves universally odious by the abuse of the powers entrusted to them by the constitution. The different executive departments of the state refusing to act after this notification, the senate most reluctantly con-

convened the diet, which met at Norkiöping in the month of April 1769. The secret committee in a short time brought twenty-four articles of accusation against the senators, and allowed them forty-eight hours only to prepare for their defence; and they were in the result degraded from their offices. The court nevertheless failed in the grand point of effecting an extension of its powers. On the question being put, "Whether it be proper to make any innovations in the fundamental constitution of the kingdom," it was carried in the negative, in the order of nobles, by 457 to 431 voices. The orders of burghers and peasants also severally decided against any alterations of the existing political system. Things continued therefore nearly in the same state till the death of the king, which took place early in the year 1771. He was succeeded by his son Gustavus the Third, who was at that period absent at the court of Versailles. On his return to Sweden, he passed some days at Berlin; and at these two courts the project of a revolution in the government of Sweden was undoubtedly concerted, although the king, in his letter to the states, gave them the most solemn assurances that he would inviolably adhere to the constitution or *formula* of government settled in the year 1720. In his speech at the opening of the diet in June, he

he declared, that he considered it as his greatest glory to be the first citizen of a free country ; and at his coronation, which took place in the month of February 1772, he not only took the customary oath, but, by a voluntary declaration, he formally absolved the states from their allegiance should he ever attempt any infringement of the *capitulations* to which he had then sworn. All this however was the result of a studied and consummate hypocrisy. After a long train of the most artful preparations, he at length determined, on the morning of the 19th of August 1772, to throw off the mask. Summoning the officers of the royal guard, he insinuated to them that his life was in danger from the machinations of the senators, painted in strong colors the wretched state of the kingdom, and declared, that his only design was to banish corruption, establish true liberty, and revive the antient lustre of the Swedish name. " Will you," said he, " be faithful to me as your forefathers were to Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus? I will then risk my life for your welfare and that of my country." The officers expressing in warm terms their attachment to the king, and their readiness to concur in his designs, a detachment of grenadiers was posted with bayonets fixed at the door of the council chamber, where the senators were actually engaged in deliberation,

tion, to prevent all ingress or egress. Other principal leaders of the aristocratic party were also at the same time put under an arrest; and the king, mounting his horse, followed by his officers and soldiers, rode through the streets of Stockholm, addressing himself to the innumerable crowds which were gathered together, and protesting "that he only meant to defend them, and save the country from ruin, and that, if they could not confide in him, he would resign his sceptre and his kingdom." The deluded people, with loud acclamations, applauded his patriotism, and entreated him not to abandon them. No symptom of resistance any where appeared; and the diet being in a few days convened, the king addressed the states in a long harangue, in which, after describing in forcible language the disorders and misfortunes in which party divisions had plunged the nation, he ordered the new *formula of government* to be read, which he now *proposed* for their acceptance. By one article of the new constitution, the king was vested with the power of assembling and dissolving the states at pleasure. By another he was to have the sole disposal of the army, the navy, the finances, and all employments civil and military. By a third, all existing taxes were made perpetual; and the king, in case of *pressing necessity*, might impose new taxes till the states should

should be assembled. And by a fourth, the states, when assembled, were to deliberate only on those questions which the king thought proper to refer to them. The instrument of government being read, the king demanded whether they approved of it? Cannon being planted in the court facing the hall where the states were assembled, and matrosses standing over them with lighted matches, the assembly declared with one voice their entire assent to these articles; and the oath of fidelity was immediately administered to them. After which *Te Deum* was sung by his majesty and the assembly, in devout commemoration of this most happy event. And thus was a revolution accomplished, which converted one of the most limited monarchies in Europe into one of the most absolute, without shedding a single drop of blood; and the nation at large, which had been grievously oppressed under the former aristocratic constitution, and which had never attained to true and rational ideas of liberty, were delighted with the present change of government, from which they hoped to enjoy tranquillity and security at least, if not the felicity and advantages of political freedom.

It is now necessary to revert to the more proper subject of the present history, and to resume the narration of military operations in America. It has been before remarked, that the siege or
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blockade of Quebec, notwithstanding the disastrous issue of general Montgomery's attempt, was continued through the winter with astonishing resolution by colonel Arnold, who was afterwards superseded by general Sullivan. Early in the spring, before the Americans could be joined by their expected reinforcements, a naval armament from Great Britain, consisting of the *Isis* of 54 guns, accompanied by the *Surprise* frigate and the *Martin* sloop, forced their passage through the ice before the navigation of the St. Laurence was deemed practicable. General Carleton, animated no less than strengthened by the welcome and seasonable succours they brought, immediately marched out in force in order to attack the American camp; but the besiegers, weakened by hardship and disease, and now altogether despairing of success, had already begun their retreat, abandoning their baggage, artillery, and stores, and directing their march towards Sorel, which they reached in a few days in a very ill condition. Towards the end of May, all the reinforcements being now arrived from England, a very great force was collected in Canada, the general rendezvous of which was appointed at Trois Rivières, half way between Montreal and Quebec; about ninety miles from each. General Burgoyne, who was second in command, had orders to pursue

purſue the continental army up the Sorel to St. John's. This poſt was now abandoned by the Americans, who retreated in confuſion to Ile aux Noix, and from thence to Crown Point. Montreal and Chamblée had been alſo previously evacuated, and the garriſons with difficulty avoided being entirely cut off. Still the Americans were maſters of Lake Champlain, and the greateſt exertions were made by the generals Carleton and Burgoyne to conſtruct a number of veſſels of ſufficient force to give them that ſuperiority which was eſſential to the ſucceſs of the expedition now meditated to the ſouthward; and, till this purpoſe was effected, military operations were entirely ſuſpended in the province of Canada.

A ſtrong ſquadron, commanded by ſir Peter Parker, with about 3000 land forces on board, ſailed from Cork in the month of February, on an expedition to the middle or ſouthern colonies. The departure of this fleet was delayed by a ſingular circumſtance. The lord lieutenant of Ireland, lord Harcourt, doubting his power to permit the troops to leave the kingdom, a clause expreſſly authoriſing him ſo to do was inſerted in a bill then pending in the parliament of Ireland. When the bill came to England, the clause was ſtruck out with indignation, as implying an undue limitation of the prerogative. But

the lord lieutenant, conceiving himself pledged by the king's word solemnly given to the Irish parliament, refused to permit the troops to embark without leave of the legislature; and a new clause was hastily inserted in another bill, which was transmitted and passed, though not without great resentment against the lord lieutenant, who, on his arrival in England some time afterwards, met at court with a very indifferent reception.

On the 3d of May, 1776, admiral sir Peter Parker anchored off Cape Fear, where he was joined by general Clinton; and finding that nothing could be attempted with probability of success in Virginia, it was determined to try the event of an attack on the city of Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina; and in the beginning of June the whole fleet anchored off Charlestown bar. Prior to their arrival the city had been put into a proper posture of defence; and works were erected on Sullivan's Island, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, in a very advantageous situation for annoying ships in their approach to the town. The militia of the province were now collected in great numbers for the defence of the metropolis, aided by several continental regiments, and the whole were commanded by general Lee, who had traversed the whole extent of the continent with wonderful
expe-

expedition, in order to put himself at their head.

On the 28th of June, the Bristol and Experiment, each of 50 guns, supported by several smaller ships, had with some difficulty crossed the bar, and advanced to the attack of the fort on Sullivan's Island, constructed entirely of the palmetto, a soft and spongy wood, in which a ball entering is buried, and makes no extended fracture. A most furious cannonade now began from the shipping, which was returned with equal fury and much more effect from the fort. The ships were almost torn to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. During the conflict, the seamen looked frequently and impatiently to see the land forces advance from Long Island, where they had some time before effected a landing, to Sullivan's Island, from which it is separated by a creek, in general fordable, but at this time, through a long continuance of easterly winds, deep and dangerous to attempt. The firing did not cease till evening, when the ships slipped their cables, and withdrew from the scene of action, after an engagement supported on both sides with uncommon spirit and vigor. The Astor, of 28 guns, having run aground, was abandoned and set on fire. Captain Morris, of the Bristol, after displaying heroic valor, received a wound which proved mortal. Captain

Scott, of the *Experiment*, and lord William Campbell, late governor of the colony, who now with great gallantry served as a volunteer on board the fleet, were also dangerously wounded, with more than 200 men of the crews of these two ships only. Colonel Moultrie, the commandant of the fort, merits distinguished mention, for the skill and cool determined valor with which he conducted his defence. The design on Charlestown was, after this disaster, abandoned; and sir Peter Parker immediately set sail for New York.

It being now thoroughly ascertained that the utmost lenity which America had to expect from Britain was pardon upon unconditional submission, the minds of the generality of men throughout the continent were by this time fully prepared for a formal declaration of independency. North Carolina and Pennsylvania, which had long opposed this measure, now signified their concurrence. Maryland alone still discovered symptoms of reluctance. General Lee, in a letter written at this time to a person of distinction in that colony, in terms very characteristic of his ardent and fiery disposition, says, "I know not whether, in the whole course of my life, I ever read any thing which so much moved my pity and indignation as the late declaration of the convention of Maryland. They declare, they

they shall esteem separation from Great Britain as the last of misfortunes. What! when an attempt has been made to rob you and your posterity of your birthrights—when your fields have been laid waste, your towns have been burnt, and your citizens butchered; when your property is seized and confiscated in all parts of the world; when an inexorable tyrant, an abandoned parliament, and a corrupt pusillanimous people, have formed an hellish league to rob you of every thing men hold most dear; is it possible there should be creatures, who march on two legs, and call themselves human, who can be so destitute of sentiment, courage, and feeling, as soppingly to protest, they shall consider separation from these butchers and robbers as the last of misfortunes?

“ Oh, I could brain you with your ladies’ fans.”

In pursuance, however, at length, of instructions transmitted from all parts of the province, the Maryland convention passed a vote in favor of independence; and the delegates of all the Thirteen Colonies assembled in general congress being now unanimous, the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE was solemnly promulgated on the 4th of July, 1776. This famous declaration commences with the acknowledgment, “ That respect to the opinions of mankind re-
quires,

quires, that, when in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation; and they assert the unalterable right of the people; whenever government becomes destructive of those ends for which it is instituted, to form a new government on principles most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they have been accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states." In proof of this

this assertion they then proceed to enumerate the particulars of his conduct in relation to America, and the oppressive and tyrannic acts of his reign. In conclusion they say, "In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. We therefore, the representatives of AMERICA in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved: and in support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour *."

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* Of this memorable declaration, memorable not merely in the annals of Great Britain, but in the history of the world, the English court, bitter as its chagrin and vehement as its resentment must questionless have been, took no public notice. An elaborate answer however in a short time appeared from

This DECLARATION was received in every part of the continent with the loudest acclamations of applause. Amongst the most enraptured in this glorious moment of enthusiasm, was the heroic and romantic Lee, who, at this period, writing to Patrick Henry, esq. governor of Virginia, thus exultingly expresses himself: "The reveries which I considered as mere golden castles built in the air, at length bid fair for being realized. We shall now most probably see a mighty empire established of freemen, whose honour, property, and military glories, are not to be at the disposal of a sceptred tyrant, nor their

the pen of a ministerial writer, under the undisguised sanction of government, which, with unabated pride and undiminished folly, speaking through this medium, says, "I'll would it become the DIGNITY of an insulted sovereign to descend to altercation with revolted subjects. Easy as it were to refute the calumnies contained in that audacious paper, it could not be expected that his majesty or ministers should CONDESCEND to give it any answer."—In reply to the dreadful charge of exciting the Indian savages to take up the hatchet against the colonists, an explicit and daring avowal is made, "that since force is become necessary, it matters not whether the instrument be a German or a Calmuck, a Russian or a Mohawk." Thus it appears from the courtly representation of this favored writer, "that the king of Great Britain, rather than recede an iota from his novel and unconstitutional claims, rather than revoke a single act of contumely or oppression, would without hesitation deliver up a whole continent to the unutterable horrors of Indian and Tartarian barbarity, converting in his ireful mood the most flourishing country upon earth
into

their consciences to be fettered by a proud domineering hierarchy. Every faculty of the soul will now be put in motion; every spark of ability which every individual possesses will now be brought forth, and form the common aggregate for the advantage and honour of the community."

By advice of the new American minister, lord George Germaine, the chief command of the vast naval and military force now collected for the subjugation of America was entrusted to the Howes, brothers of the gallant nobleman who so gloriously fell in the defence of the colonies in the former war at Ticonderoga. "America," said the congress, in one of their public

into one mighty waste, the eternal abode of solitude and desolation."—"Flattered from their cradles," says a noble writer (lord Chesterfield), "the hearts of kings are corrupt, and their heads are turned; so that they seem to be a species by themselves. No KING ever said to himself, *Homo sum; humani nihil à me alienum puto*."—And Mr. Burke, who has since taken so much pains to unlearn his former notions, has told us, "that a king is ever surrounded with a crowd of infamous flatterers, who find their account in keeping him from the least light of reason, till all ideas of rectitude and justice are erased from his mind." And he scruples not to say, "that, judging upon sure and uncontested principles, the greatest part of the governments on earth must be concluded tyrannies, impostures, violations of the natural rights of mankind, and worse than the most disorderly anarchy." By what species of unparalleled effrontery can this writer accuse and denounce another for proclaiming usurpers by circles of latitude and longitude over the whole globe!!!

declara-

declarations, "is amazed to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies—the loved his brother." It argued, however, very shallow policy to make this nomination under the idea that the sound of a once popular name would cause America to waver for a moment in her determination, or in the slightest degree remit her preparations of resistance; though it might indeed be reasonably questioned, whether men supposed not unfavorably inclined to America would be likely to make exertions equally vigorous and ardent with others not inferior in talents, who entertained no such predilection. Lord Howe, who was anxious to obtain an enlargement of his powers as commissioner, in order to effect his favorite purpose of pacification, did not leave England till May, and he then directed his course for Halifax, where he arrived in June; but found, by a letter left for him, that his brother, the general, was already departed for New York, to which place he instantly proceeded without coming to an anchor, and reached Staten Island, the head-quarters of the general, on the 12th of July. Here, to his inexpressible chagrin, he was informed of the publication of the declaration of independency. His lordship, however, resolved to make an effort, such as yet remained, for effecting an accommodation; though so limited were his powers,

ers, that it was in fact of very immaterial consequence whether his arrival preceded or succeeded the declaration. On his arrival off the coast, his lordship had sent ashore by a flag to Amboy a circular letter addressed to the governors of the different colonies, acquainting them with his appointment as commissioner, in conjunction with the general, together with a declaration to the inhabitants. Copies of these papers were sent by general Washington to the congress, who immediately resolved, "that they be published in the several gazettes, in order that the good people of the United States might be apprised of what nature are the commissions, and what the terms with the expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain has endeavoured to amuse and disarm them." Some days after this, adjutant-general Paterson was deputed by general Howe with a message to general Washington, stating, that the commissioners were invested with great powers, that they would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation, and wished this visit to be considered as the first advance towards that desirable object. General Washington replied, "that, by what had transpired, their powers extended merely to the granting of pardons; that those who had been guilty of no fault wanted no pardon; and that they were only

only defending what they deemed their indisputable rights." Both sides now prepared seriously for action; and the general, being joined by the far greater part of his expected reinforcements, found himself at the head of 30,000 veteran troops, supported by a formidable fleet, composing together a far superior force to any that had ever before been seen in the New World employed in the same service.

On the 22d of August, 1776, the whole army being re-embarked, was safely landed, under protection of the shipping, on the south-western extremity of Long Island, an extensive and fertile tract; on the opposite side of which, in view of the island and city of New York, lay encamped, near the village of Brooklyn, a large body of Americans commanded by general Sullivan. His lines extended on the left to the East River, which separated him from New York; he was defended by a marsh and an inlet of the sea called Gowan's Cove on the right; and to the rear of the encampment was an open bay, bounded by a small island, known by the name of Governor's Island. Between the armies was a range of hills covered with wood, intersecting the country from east to west: through these hills are three passes, one to the westward called the Narrows; a second, on the road denominated the Flat-bush road; and the third, bend-
ing

ing to the east, called the Bedford road. Besides these there is a road leading round the eastern extremity of the hills to a plantation called Jamaica. On each of these roads or passes the American general had placed a strong guard of 800 men. General Howe, having formed his plan, stationed general Grant at the head of the left wing, in a position to guard the coast, and, if practicable, to force a passage through the Narrows. General de Heister, with the Hessians, was ordered to take post at the central pass of Flat-bush.

About nine in the evening of the 26th, the main army, under the command of general Clinton and the lords Percy and Cornwallis, marched to the right, in order to gain the eastern or Jamaica pass, which, through the unaccountable negligence or cowardice of the officer appointed to defend it, they accomplished without delay or difficulty. The way being thus open, the whole army descended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and the American lines. The action began early on the morning of the 27th, by a warm cannonade on the right of the American lines from the generals De Heister and Grant; the ships of war in the mean time attacking a battery at Red Hook, in the rear of the American encampment, in order to call off their attention from the left
and

and centre, where the real danger lay. The Americans having taken a station some miles distant in front of their camp, in order to oppose the advance of De Heister and Grant, were suddenly attacked by general Clinton in the rear, and immediately thrown into the utmost confusion; and, in the effort to retreat back to the lines of Brooklyn, great numbers were killed or taken prisoners; amongst the latter were general Sullivan and ten other field officers, and many were drowned or suffocated in attempting to pass the marsh. Upon the whole a signal victory was obtained with inconsiderable loss; and such was the ardor of the British troops, that scarcely could they be restrained by the too great caution of their commander from storming the American lines, which would have been in all probability quickly forced, in the consternation occasioned by the loss of the battle. On the next day the British troops broke ground in form, at 600 yards' distance from the nearest redoubt, and the ships in the bay waited only a fair wind to enter the East River, which would have effectually cut off all communication between the island and the continent. In this situation no hope remained but in a retreat, which was in the succeeding night effected, under cover of a thick fog, with extraordinary silence, order, and secrecy—general Washington himself crossing over in person, and taking

taking the conduct of the whole. On the clearing up of the fog, the last boats of the Americans were seen passing the river, but out of reach of the English batteries; and general Howe, whose hopes had been raised to the highest pitch, now found no other advantage resulting from his victory than the inglorious acquisition of the deserted works of Brooklyn. Almost immediately after this transaction, general Sullivan was sent upon parole, with a verbal message from lord Howe to the congress, importing, that, although he could not at present treat with them in a legal character, yet he was desirous of conferring with some of the members of that assembly in their individual capacity; informing them, "that he, with the general, was invested with full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, on terms advantageous to both; the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the declaration of independence had taken place. If, upon the conference, any probable ground of accommodation appeared, his lordship added, that the authority of congress must of course be subsequently acknowledged, in order to render the compact complete." The congress replied with republican dignity, rather raising than lowering their tone in consequence of the late defeat, that
"being

"being the representatives of the free and independent STATES of AMERICA, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body, to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress, and what that authority is." The committee appointed for this purpose, Dr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, accordingly met lord Howe upon Staten Island, September 14, where they were entertained by his lordship with great politeness; but in the report of this conference they say, "that his lordship's commission appeared to them to contain no other authority of importance than was comprised in the act of parliament; for, as to the power of enquiring into the state of America, and transmitting the result of such enquiry to England, they apprehend any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too precarious to America to have relied upon, had she continued in her state of dependence." Thus all hope of success in consequence of negotiation vanished, much to the satisfaction of the friends of American independence, who dreaded lest the powers vested in the commissioners should have proved so extensive as to create a serious difference of
opinion

opinion as to the propriety of treating: but this the abounding pride and deficient wisdom of the English court most effectually prevented. No suspension of arms having taken place, several ships of war were previous to the conference sent up the East and North Rivers, which lave the coasts of the long and narrow peninsula at the extremity of which the city of New York is situated. The army of general Washington being stationed, part in the environs of the city, and part at Kingsbridge, on the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the continent, apprehensions were entertained that the English general, by landing his forces in the centre, would cut off the communication between them; on which a resolution was taken, immediately to evacuate the city; and on the actual landing of the British forces, the Americans retreated with precipitation and some loss, to Kingsbridge, where they had erected strong works. The greater part of the army were now re-embarked, and again landed near West Chester, with a view to gain the rear of general Washington's encampment, and to enclose him in his fastnesses on all sides. The American commander, alarmed by the remonstrances of general Lee, who had recently joined him, perceived the necessity of making a grand movement, in order to counteract this project; and, immediately de-camping with his whole army, took a new and

VOL. II. R strong

strong position at White Plains, the deep river Brunx covering his front, and the North River flowing at some distance in the rear.

On the 28th of October, the royal army advanced in two columns within cannon-shot of the American lines; and a part of the left wing, crossing the river, attacked an advanced post of the American encampment; commanded by general Macdougall, who was compelled to retreat with loss to the main army: the right and centre, fortunately for the Americans, did not quit the ground on which they had at first formed. The next day, general Howe, observing the American lines much strengthened by additional works, resolved to defer the attack till the arrival of the troops which had been left on York Island; who joining him at the expected time, new dispositions were made for attacking the American lines on the last day of October, but incessant rains prevented the execution of his plan: and in the night of the 1st of November, general Washington drew off his troops, and took another and still stronger position, amidst the woods and high lands bordering on the North Castle district. General Howe, perceiving that the nature of the country would not admit of forcing the American commander to an engagement, made a sudden movement towards Kingsbridge, and unexpectedly invested Fort Washington, a strong post, which

which the Americans, contrary to the earnest advice of general Lee, occupied on the North River, opposite to which was Fort Lee on the Jersey side. The commander of the fortress refusing to surrender to the summons of general Howe, it was by an immediate and vigorous assault carried sword in hand, and more than 2000 men made prisoners of war. On this acquisition, lord Cornwallis was detached with a strong body of forces to form the investment of Fort Lee, but found it already abandoned by the garrison, who retired with such precipitation as to leave behind them their artillery, provisions, and stores. General Washington, who had passed the North River with a view to the protection of the province of Jersey, now found himself compelled to retreat with a very diminished force to Newark, whence he fell back on the approach of lord Cornwallis to Brunswick, leaving Newark the very morning that his lordship entered it. As the van of lord Cornwallis's army advanced to Brunswick, by a forced march, December 1, general Washington retreated to Prince-town, having first broken down the bridge erected there over the Rariton. As the orders of his lordship were positive not to advance beyond Brunswick, he here sent dispatches to the commander in chief, expressing sanguine hopes, that by a continued pursuit he could entirely disperse the army under

general Washington, and seize his heavy baggage and artillery before he could pass the Delaware. But general Howe would not revoke his order, saying only that he would join his lordship immediately: but this junction did not take place till after an important interval of several days; and the Americans were once more saved by the cold and dilatory policy of the English general.

On the 7th, lord Cornwallis advanced to Princetown, which the Americans had scarcely quitted: and the van of his lordship's army reached at midnight, December 8, the banks of the Delaware, just as the rear-guard of the Americans gained the opposite shore. Here a cessation of the pursuit became indispensable, as no boats could be procured for transporting the troops over that great river. During this memorable retreat, general Lee, at the head of a considerable body of troops, had followed the track of lord Cornwallis, but at too great a distance to be of any service to the commander in chief. It seemed as if his proud and envious mind, which could brook no superiority, would have been gratified by the total defeat and ruin of general Washington, to whom he would, in all probability, have succeeded as generalissimo of the forces of America. But it was otherwise decreed, and an unlooked-for and unspeakable mortification and disgrace awaited

awaited him. While he lay carelessly and without a guard at a place called Basking-ridge, intelligence of his situation was communicated to colonel Harcourt, who instantly formed a plan for capturing this able officer, styled by the British army "the American Palladium." With such address and activity was this project carried into execution, that the general was seized by a party of light horse, conducted by the colonel in the night of the 13th of December 1776, and carried safely off to the British camp, though several guarded posts and armed patrols lay in their way. This capture caused great exultation, and the prisoner was confined in the closest manner. And offer being made by the congress to exchange six field-officers for the general, it was answered, that general Lee, being a deserter from his majesty's service, did not come under the denomination of a prisoner of war, nor was he entitled to the benefits of the cartel; and the menace of retaliation alone prevented their proceeding to the last extremity against him. During the royal successes in the Jerseys, general Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of men of war, was detached to the attack of Rhode Island—which being in no condition of defence, was abandoned to them without resistance. It was taken possession of by general Clinton on the very

day that general Washington crossed the Delaware. When the expedition was in readiness to proceed on this enterprise, general Clinton strongly urged that he might rather be permitted to conduct it to the Delaware, where it would no doubt have produced effects infinitely more important: for the possession of Rhode Island had no other visible consequence than to keep a great body of troops employed for three successive years, apparently contributing as little to the projected reduction of the adjoining continent as if they had been stationed at Formosa or Japan.

The affairs of America were now in the opinion of many verging to a crisis; for, though it might reasonably be expected that the first operations of so great a force as that now employed by Great Britain would be successful in a certain degree, it could scarcely be imagined that such a series of disasters could happen in so short a time. But the event of the campaign, though now in appearance brought very nearly to a termination, shewed in a striking manner the caprice of fortune, and the folly of those who in a hazardous and dangerous war rely on a constant and uninterrupted tide of success. When general Washington retreated across the Delaware, he trembled for the fate of America; and talked of retiring for safety with the remains of his army
to

to the recesses of the Alleghany mountains, expecting to have been immediately followed by the British forces. For, though the boats were by a timely precaution removed to the Pennsylvanian shore, the neighbourhood supplied ample materials, which art and industry might soon have constructed into rafts and flotillas sufficient for the transportation of the troops. But it was remarked by men of discernment, that nothing of the vast or decisive appeared in the plans of the English general, and the troops now in the full career of success were ordered into winter cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick to the Delawar, and down the banks of that river for many miles, so as to compose a front at the end of the line looking over to Pennsylvania. General Washington having perfect information of this disposition, in the spirit of a vigilant and sagacious commander, immediately formed the resolution to clip the wings of the enemy while they were so spread *."

Very early in the morning of the 26th of December (1776), a day purposely selected on the

* " Mr. Mesfereau, employed by the American general to gain intelligence, returned with an account where they were cantoned, and in what numbers. General Fermoy was appointed to receive and communicate the information to the commander in chief. Upon the receipt of it, he cried out, " Now is our time to clip their wings, while they are so spread ! " Vide Gordon's History of the American war.

supposition that the preceding festivity might favor the project of surprize, general Washington crossed the Delawar, not without extreme difficulty from the quantity of ice in the river, nine miles above Trenton, and immediately began his march in the midst of a storm of snow and hail at the head of his troops, which exceeded not three thousand in number, and reached Trenton by day-break. Here about one thousand six hundred men were stationed, chiefly Hessians, under the command of colonel Rahl, who, being unsuspicious of danger, were thrown into confusion at the first attack. Colonel Rahl himself being mortally wounded, the disorder increased, and, abandoning their artillery, they attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town; but finding this impracticable, and being now overpowered, and nearly surrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Lofsberg, and Knyphausen, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war—the remainder of the troops escaping with difficulty by way of Bordenton. In the evening general Washington repassed the Delawar, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery, and colors, and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph. The charm was now dissolved; and it being found by experience that the Europeans were not invincible, great numbers of the Americans, who had

had deserted their colors, again repaired to the standard of their commander, who soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, in a condition once more to cross the Delaware; and lord Cornwallis, who was actually at New York in his way to England, found himself under a necessity of returning to the defence of the Jerseys.

The English general, approaching the American army strongly posted near the town of Trenton, made immediate dispositions for an attack; but in the dead of night (January 2, 1777) general Washington silently withdrew his troops, leaving fires burning in his camp, and the usual patrols, in order to deceive the enemy; and by a circuitous march arrived by sun-rise at Prince-town. Here the fourth brigade of British troops, consisting of the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments, were posted under the command of colonel Mawhood, who had just begun his march in order to join lord Cornwallis, when he fell in with the vanguard of the American army. Though engaged with a far superior force, the colonel, at the head of his own corps, with extraordinary gallantry fought his way through the thickest ranks of the enemy—the other regiments making separate retreats by different roads: they suffered however very severely in this unequal conflict, and
were

were in a great measure disabled for future service. General Washington distinguished himself on this occasion by singular exertions of personal valor. On this disaster, lord Cornwallis, finding himself out-manœuvred by his antagonist, abandoned his camp at Trenton, and retired with precipitation to Brunswic. The licentious ravages of the soldiery, particularly of the German mercenaries, during the time they were in possession of the Jerseys, had excited the utmost resentment and detestation of the inhabitants; and the fortune of war now seeming to turn against them, the whole country rose in arms; the militia collected in large bodies, and the British troops were every where attacked with success—at Woodbridge, at Elisabethtown, at Newark; and the royal troops retained only the two posts of Brunswic and Amboy, both holding an open communication with New York by sea.

The dispositions made by general Howe, and indeed his whole conduct from the commencement to the conclusion of this campaign, were to persons *unskilled in the military art* totally inexplicable, and apparently exhibited a continued series of the most egregious errors. It was remarked that the frontier posts of Trenton, Bordenton, and Burlington, were the weakest in point of numbers in the whole line of cantonments;

ments ; while the remoter posts were strengthened in proportion to the decrease of the danger. Nor were these frontier cantonments secured from the attacks of the enemy by any works of art, but left without a single redoubt or entrenchment, to which, in case of a surprise, the troops, until they could be relieved from the other posts, might retreat. The military reputation of general Washington, which was somewhat impaired by the unsuccessful and problematic operations of the former part of the campaign, was fully recovered and established by the bold and masterly movements which characterized the close of it.

In the detail of military events, the civil transactions which took place during the same interval of time must not be suffered to escape attention. On the 19th of September (1776), the commissioners of the crown, lord Howe and the general, caused a proclamation to be published, promising in his majesty's name a revision of all such instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint on the freedom of legislation in the colonies, and also to concur in the revival of such acts by the operation of which they might think themselves aggrieved. Though it was impossible to conjecture what was really meant by a promise so vague, had a declaration of this nature been made with good faith at an earlier period

period of the dispute, it might doubtless have been attended with happy effects; but when a civil war had actually commenced, to indulge the most distant idea that the Americans would lay down their arms on a mere promise of a revision of the acts of that government whose authority they had renounced, was an idle and puerile expectation.

In the month of October the inhabitants of the city and island of New York, then in the possession of the English, presented a petition to the commissioners, signed by nine hundred and forty-six names, declaring their allegiance to the king, and their acknowledgment of the *constitutional supremacy* of Great Britain, and praying to be restored to his majesty's peace and protection. This petition was followed by another of a similar kind from Queen's County, in Long Island; but the example afforded little encouragement to others, when it was observed that these petitions were wholly unavailing; nor were they ever restored to the rights which they had been flattered by the proclamation with the expectation of regaining. On the 30th of November another proclamation was published by the commissioners, offering a pardon and indemnity to all persons who should within the space of sixty days surrender themselves to any of his majesty's general officers, admirals, &c. and subscribe
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a declaration of loyalty and obedience. This proclamation being issued during the high tide of success attending the royal arms, very many persons, timid or treacherous, subscribed to the declaration accordingly; but at no time did the congress discover any symptoms of irresolution. They removed indeed their session from Philadelphia to Baltimore in Maryland, where they adopted very vigorous measures both of offence and defence. They declared the property of the subjects of Great Britain taken on the high seas to be lawful prize; they resolved upon raising eighty-eight battalions to serve during the war; they nominated three of their body, of whom Dr. Franklin was one, commissioners to the court of Versailles, to solicit aid and assistance, and to propose the plan of a treaty of friendship, commerce, and alliance; they enlarged the powers of their general, vesting in him a kind of dictatorial authority for the space of six months; and they resolved that all bills of credit emitted by congress should pass current in all transactions, and whoever refused to receive the same in the common course of payment should be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and should be treated accordingly. SUCH was the state of America at the termination of the campaign of 1776, which, though late in its commencement, and short in its duration, abounded

abounded in action, and exhibited vicissitudes of fortune singularly important and interesting.

The intelligence of the successes attending the British arms on Long Island and at New York reached England some time before the meeting of parliament, which was convened October 31, 1776. In his speech from the throne, the king, with unguarded and undignified intemperance of language, informed the two houses, "that so daring and desperate was the spirit of those leaders, whose object has only been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country; they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them, and have PRESUMED to set up their REBELLIOUS CONFEDERACIES AS INDEPENDENT STATES. If their TREASON be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it to the present system of all Europe." His majesty was happy to inform them, "that the successes already obtained had been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but notwithstanding this fair prospect, it was necessary at all events to prepare for ANOTHER CAMPAIGN." Addresses, the echo of the speech, were brought forward in both houses; but an amendment, which was
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in reality another address in a totally different strain, was moved by lord John Cavendish in the house of commons, and the marquis of Rockingham in the house of lords, containing a masterly recapitulation of the manifold errors of that system which had caused the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt, of so large a part of his majesty's once loyal and affectionate subjects. It concluded with the observation, "that a wise and provident use of the late advantages might be productive of happy effects, as the means of establishing a permanent connection between Great Britain and her colonies, on principles of liberty, and terms of mutual benefit. — We should look," said this truly excellent and admirable address, "with shame and horror on any events that should bow them to an abject and unconditional submission to any power whatsoever—annihilate their liberties, and subdue them to servile principles and passive habits by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms."

The speech from the throne, under the established and decorous pretext of its being the speech of the minister, was treated with the most contemptuous and sarcastic severity. "Where," it was asked, "are those mighty leaders to be found whom the Americans obey so implicitly, and who govern them with so despotic a rule? They have no grandees among them; their soil
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is not productive of nobility; in no country are there in fact so few individuals possessed of a commanding or extensive influence; the president of their supreme assembly is a merchant; the general of their armies a private gentleman. Nothing could be more evident, than that a sense of common danger and of common suffering had driven them to the necessity of creating leaders who were possessed only of such powers as the people had thought it expedient to entrust them with. In the same spirit of FALSEHOOD it is asserted, 'that the Americans had rejected with circumstances of indignity and insult the terms of conciliation offered them.' The truth was, that no terms had been offered them but the offer of pardon on unconditional submission, which the ministers well knew they would never accept; nor was even this mock offer made till the whole system of irritation and oppression was completed by the injustice and cruelty of the Capture Act, by which they were put out of the protection of the law, and their property held out as common spoil. The position in the speech, so undeniably true, '*that no people ever enjoyed greater happiness, or lived under a milder government, than these now revolted colonies,*' implied the severest censure on those who had so wantonly and wickedly departed from a system which had produced such noble and wonderful effects." The expectation of
unanimity

unanimity from the present situation of affairs was, however, said to be of all the parts of this extravagant speech the most ridiculous. "What! shall we at last concur in measures, because all the mischiefs which we originally predicted have ultimately resulted from them? Have ministers the unparalleled effrontery to call upon us to give our sanction to that fatal system which we in vain warned and implored them to shun, and which persisted in must terminate in utter ruin?" On a division, the amendment was rejected in the house of commons by a majority of 242 to 87, and in the house of peers by 91 to 26, fourteen of whom joined in a protest, in which the proposed amendment was verbatim inserted, in order that it might remain as a perpetual memorial on the journals of that house.

In a few days after the addresses were presented, lord John Cavendish, exhibiting in the house a printed paper, purporting to be a proclamation of his majesty's commissioners in America, called upon ministers to inform him as to the authenticity of it. This being acknowledged, his lordship expressed in the strongest terms his astonishment at the contempt and indignity offered to the house, who, through the medium of a common newspaper only, were at length informed that they stand engaged to America to undertake a revision of all those laws by which

the Americans had conceived themselves to be aggrieved. Notwithstanding the resentment he felt as a member of the house at this ministerial insolence of conduct, his lordship said that he felt a dawn of joy break in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, whatever color the measures might wear that led to so desirable an event. The great object of restoring peace and unity to this distracted empire outweighed so far with him all other present considerations, that he not only would overlook *punctilios* on this account, but even such matters of real import as would upon any other occasion call all his powers into action. On these grounds his lordship moved, " that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revival of all acts of parliament by which his majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved." The ministers, though thrown by the surprise of this motion into some perplexity, alleged in their vindication, " that the paper in question was not of *sufficient moment* to be laid before parliament, being no treaty nor part of a treaty, but barely a preliminary which might possibly lead to one. That a public proclamation, submitted to the general inspection upon the walls and houses of New York, could not however be intended to be kept from the knowledge of parliament; and they conceived the
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authority exercised by the commissioners to be already delegated by the act under which they derived their powers;—that, as to the motion itself, they conceived it to be highly improper, as tending to disgrace the commissioners, and defeat their endeavours to obtain the most advantageous terms for this kingdom. They also insisted, that, until the spirit of independency was effectually subdued, it would be idle and futile to enter upon any revisions; but from our late successes there was little room to doubt but that the *cruel thralldom* in which the people of America were held by the congress would be quickly dissolved, and that America would return to her duty with more eagerness and alacrity than she had entered into this revolt; and that then would be the time to talk of legislative regulations for their future government.”

This language kindled anew the indignation of the opposition. “That the most important paper published in the course of this controversy, containing propositions of conciliation in which the house were parties so nearly concerned, should not be thought of *sufficient moment* to be laid before them, was treated as an incredible extravagance; and to pretend that the commissioners were already authorized to engage for the revision of the laws in question, was a palpable falsehood. The act by which they were appointed

empowered them only to grant pardons, and enquire into grievances; and the concurrence of the house was absolutely necessary to give effect to the proclamation. If the ministers opposed such concurrence, it was evident that the offer was a branch of that insidious and treacherous system by which they aimed to divide, while by their fleets and armies they were endeavouring to destroy and exterminate, the colonies. To say that this proclamation was not intended to be kept from the knowledge of parliament was a mockery of parliament; for how could the members of that house be supposed acquainted with the papers posted up in the streets of New York?" But the doctrine they most of all reprobated was, that an absolute and unconditional renunciation of American independence must precede the revision of the laws in question, or any redress of grievances whatever. "Upon what precedent," said they, "is this horrid maxim founded? or what code of history or policy have our ministers made the rule of their present conduct? Philip II. of Spain, who was in his day considered as the most gloomy and unrelenting tyrant in Christendom, adopted a wiser and more moderate policy. In his wars with the revolted provinces of Holland, he repeatedly promised, in terms the most explicit and positive, the complete redress of all their grievances, without

out requiring a previous renunciation of their independence. But the doctrine now broached was a doctrine which led to the last extremities of human misery. It was a condition which could not be enforced without the effusion of oceans of blood, and in fact it was holding out to America the option only of **SLAVERY** or **DEATH.**" The motion, after a long and passionate debate, was negatived by a majority of 62 voices; and from this time many of the opposition, chiefly of the Rockingham party, absented themselves from the house, and a clear field was left during the greater part of the session to the ministers—the vast supplies demanded by them being granted in almost empty houses, without examination or debate.

A gloomy silence prevailed, and ministers in the height of their parliamentary triumphs were ill able to counterfeit the external appearances of satisfaction. The members of the secession, in vindication of themselves, urged, "that there was no saving a people against their will; that they had for a succession of years apprised and warned the nation of the dangers attending those ruinous measures which it was pursuing, and of the fatal precipice that must terminate this mad ministerial career—it was too degrading to be the continual instruments of opposing the ineffective weapons of reason and argument to a

system of pre-determined irritation and violence—that as good and bad success were equally urged, and alike admitted, as motives for a perseverance in this course, it was not the part of wisdom to strive with impossibilities, or to draw upon themselves the odium of their fellow-citizens by an ineffectual attempt to serve them—that they would therefore reserve their exertions for a season when the present national delirium had so far abated as to afford some hope of advantage.”

Soon after the recess, the minister, depending perhaps on the present indisposition of the minority to contest any point whatever with the court, introduced a bill to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or SUSPECTED of the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas. With such negligent latitude, or, to speak more justly, with such treacherous artifice of construction, was this bill framed, that, by the enacting clauses, the crown was enabled, *at its pleasure*, to commit any person resident in any part of the British dominions to custody, without bail or mainprize, under his majesty's sign manual, in any place of confinement situate in Great Britain or ELSEWHERE. For though the act of treason, according to the proposed bill, must be committed in America, the crown lawyers and the *king's friends* maintained,

tained, and cases were quoted to prove, that such treasonable act might be perpetrated by persons who had never been out of the kingdom, if its operation could be subsequently shewn to extend to America. Thus was the Habeas-Corpus Act, that great bulwark of British liberty, completely annihilated by a vile and infamous construction of law, which left it in the power of the crown to apprehend on the slightest suspicion, or pretence of suspicion, any individual against whom the vengeance of the court was meant to be directed; and to convey them beyond the seas to any of the garrisons in Africa or the Indies, far from all hope or possibility of relief. The alarm occasioned by this bill brought back the members of the opposition to the house, and a most resolute, vigorous, and animated resistance was made to it in every stage of its progress. At length the minister, who really appears not to have been thoroughly apprised of the nature of the bill, and of the dreadful extent of the powers vested by it in the crown, frankly and explicitly disavowed as to himself all design of extending the operation of the bill beyond its open and avowed objects. He said, "that the bill was intended for America, and not for England; that, as he would ask for no power that was not wanted, so he would scorn to receive it by any covert means; and that, far

from wishing to establish any unconstitutional precedent, he neither sought nor wished any powers to be vested in the crown or its ministers which were capable of being employed to bad or oppressive purposes." He therefore agreed to receive the amendments proposed; the principal of which were in substance: 1. That the clause empowering his majesty to confine such persons as might be apprehended under this act *in any part of his dominions*, should be modified by the insertion of the words, "within the realm;" and 2dly, That an additional clause or proviso be inserted, "that nothing in this act shall be construed to extend to persons resident in Great Britain." These concessions gave extreme offence to the leaders of the high prerogative party, who had zealously defended the bill in its original state, and who now exclaimed, "that they were deserted by the minister in a manner which seemed calculated to disgrace the whole measure, to confirm all the charges and surmises of their adversaries, and to fix all the odium upon them." And it was indeed sufficiently evident, from the whole conduct of the business, that the minister, on this as on other occasions, was not admitted into the inmost recesses of the royal cabinet.

On the 9th of April, 1777, a message was delivered by the minister from the king, in which his majesty expressed his concern in acquainting
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the house with the difficulties he labored under from the debts incurred by expences of the civil government, amounting on the 5th of January preceding to upwards of 600,000*l*. And the house on this message resolving itself into a committee of supply, the minister moved, "That the sum of 618,000*l*. be granted, to enable his majesty to discharge the debts of the civil government; and that the sum of 100,000*l*. per annum, over and above the sum of 800,000*l*. be granted as a farther provision for the same." This gave rise to a vehement debate. It was affirmed to be a measure of the grossest impropriety and indecency to bring forward such a demand in such a season of national distress and calamity; when burdens are accumulated upon burdens, to tell a people already sinking under their load, that the grandeur of the crown is not sufficiently supported, and that an increase of taxes is necessary in order to increase its splendor! But even this plea, however inadequate to the justification of ministers, was far remote from the truth. It was notorious that the debt had been incurred in carrying on and supporting a system of corruption; in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence which had swept every thing before it; which had brought the nation to the brink of destruction,

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and had deprived us in a very great measure of all the benefits derived from a limited government. The harsh and stern voice of prerogative was indeed no longer heard ; but the danger was much greater from the silent progress of a malady, which, though slower, was far more certain. They said, that the debts of the crown had been not many years since discharged without account, to the amount of more than half a million. What is the consequence ? Another and larger demand is made, and a vast annual increase asked, without even the wretched security of ministerial promise, that new debts will not be contracted, and new augmentations demanded. They observed, that, on a comparison of the expenditure of the last eight years, with a similar period terminating the reign of the late king, the excess of the article of pensions would be found to amount to 213,000*l.* and that the increase in the article of secret service was yet more enormous. In two lines only, the sums of 171,000*l.* and 114,000*l.* were charged for secret services, issued under the direction of the *secretaries of the Treasury*. That money should be entrusted to the secretaries of state, for the purpose of procuring foreign intelligence, must doubtless be acknowledged necessary ; but that the subordinate officers of the Treasury, who can have
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no public connection beyond their own office, should be the avowed irresponsible agents for the unlimited disposal of the public money, was indeed alarming, and left no room for doubt as to its design or application. Above half a million was stated under the head of the Board of Works, though no one could conjecture in what palace, park, garden, or royal work of any kind, the money had been expended; nor were any vouchers produced by which the house could form a judgment of the propriety of any branch of the expenditure. It appeared only upon the whole, that under every head the expence was infinitely increased, while the external splendor of royalty was in the same proportion diminished. The accounts laid upon the table stated the annual allowance for the privy purse to be raised from 48,000*l.* in the late reign to 60,000*l.*; and, what was much more extraordinary, it appeared that the queen's privy purse was fixed at 50,000*l.* although queen Anne, reigning as sovereign in her own right, had contented herself with an allowance of 20,000*l.*—even out of this moderate sum, as the duchess of Marlborough informs us, “saving money; for, though very charitable, she was never expensive, *made no foolish buildings, nor bought one jewel in the whole course of her reign.*” —Such nevertheless was the unlimited complaisance of parliament, that the demands of the minister

minister were granted almost without the formality of a division*.

The opposition in the house of lords was equally unavailing. The bill was, however, accompanied with a strong protest; but the most remarkable circumstance attending it was the speech made by the speaker of the house of commons to his majesty, on presenting it a few days afterwards for the royal assent. "In a time, SIRE," said he, "of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents laboring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your majesty's highest expence; but all this, SIRE, they have done in the *well-grounded confidence*, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally." The countenance of the king plainly indicated how little acceptable was this unexpected liberty. On the return of the speaker and the attendant members, the

* "When we see," says a humorous writer, "the print of GARAGANTUA, that has a mouth as large as an oven, and swallows at one meal twelve hundred pounds of bread, twenty oxen, a hundred sheep, six hundred fowls, fifteen hundred hares, two thousand quails, a thousand barrels of wine, six thousand peaches, &c. &c. &c. who does not say: THAT is the mouth of a KING."

thanks

thanks of the house were nevertheless immediately voted him ; yet not without exciting the secret and acrimonious resentment of the *king's friends*, or prerogative party ; one of whom, Mr. Rigby, took occasion in a subsequent debate to arraign the conduct of the speaker with unusual vehemence, as conveying little less than an insult on the king, and as equally misrepresenting the sense of parliament and the state of the nation. The sentiments delivered at the bar of the other house, he said, were not those of the house of commons ; he for one totally disclaimed them ; and he had no doubt but the majority of the house thought with him. The speaker appealed to the vote of thanks which had been passed, as a proof that he had not been guilty of the misrepresentation imputed to him : and the minister, uneasy at the altercation, intimated his wish that the subject might not be farther discussed. But Mr. Fox, immediately rising, declared, "that a serious and direct charge having been brought, the question was now at issue. Either the speaker had misrepresented the sense of the house, or he had not. He should therefore, in order to bring this question to a proper and final decision, move, That the speaker of the house, in his speech to his majesty at the bar of the house of peers, did express with just and proper energy
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the sentiments of this house." The speaker himself declared, " that he would sit no longer in that chair than he was supported in the free exercise of his duty. He had discharged what he conceived to be his duty, intending only to express the sense of the house; and from the vote of approbation with which he had been honored, he had reason to believe he was not chargeable with any misrepresentation." The ministers now found themselves involved in a most unpleasant dilemma, and in pressing terms recommended the withdrawal of the motion. This being positively refused, Mr. Rigby moved for the house to adjourn. But the house appearing evidently sensible of the degradation which its dignity must sustain from any affront offered to the chair, he at length thought fit in some degree to concede; and professed, " that he meant no reflection upon the character of the speaker, but that what he had said was the mere expression of his private opinion, and the result of that freedom of speech which was the right and privilege of every member of that house, without respect of persons; and that, if what he had advanced was not agreeable to the sense of that house, he would readily withdraw his motion of adjournment:" which being done, Mr. Fox's motion was unanimously carried; and, to complete the triumph,

triumph, the thanks of the house to the speaker for his conduct in this affair were also moved, and agreed to without opposition.

The session being now near its close, lord Chatham, unwilling that it should pass over without some public testimony of his unutterable abhorrence of the war which now distracted and convulsed the empire, and of the principles and conduct of those men whose weak and wicked counsels had involved the nation in its present calamities, attended the house of peers on the 30th of May, wrapped in flannels, and bearing a crutch in each hand. At the risk of his health, and perhaps of his life, this great statesman presented himself thus oppressed with infirmities, for the purpose of moving their lordships, who had been previously summoned, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to the present unnatural war against the colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances." His lordship said, that he had at different times made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill was at this time, he confessed, impracticable. "The present motion will open the way for treaty. It
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will be the harbinger of peace, and will convince the Americans, that parliament is sincerely disposed to reconciliation. We have tried for unconditional submission—let us now try what can be gained by unconditional redress. The door of mercy has been hitherto shut against them; you have ransacked every corner of Germany for boors and ruffians to invade and ravage their country; for to conquer it, my lords, is impossible—you CANNOT do it. I may as well pretend to drive them before me with THIS CRUTCH. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises, but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. But were it practicable by a long continued course of success to conquer America, the holding it in subjection afterwards will be utterly impossible. No benefit can be derived from that country to this, but by the good-will and pure affection of the inhabitants: this is not to be gained by force of arms; their affection is only to be recovered by reconciliation and justice. If ministers are founded in saying, that no engagements are entered into by America with France, there is yet a moment left; the point of honour is still safe; a few weeks may decide our fate as a nation. Were America suffered to form a treaty with France, we should not only lose the immense advantages resulting from the vast and increasing

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Commerce of our colonies, but those advantages would be thrown into the hands of our hereditary enemy. America, my lords, is now contending with Great Britain under a MASKED BATTERY of France, which will open as she perceives this country to be sufficiently weakened by the contest. France will not lose so fair an opportunity of separating for ever America from this kingdom. This is the critical moment—for such a treaty must and will take place, should pacification be delayed; and war between England and France is not the less probable because professions of amity continue to be made. It would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gives full employment to our arms, and is pouring into her lap her wealth and produce. While the trade of Great Britain languishes, while her taxes increase and her revenues diminish, France is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which is the basis of your power. My motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to the wisdom of your lordships. But, my lords, I will tell you fairly what I wish for—I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act passed since 1763; I would put America precisely on the footing she stood at that period. If it be asked, Why should we submit to concede? I will tell you, my lords: Because you have been the aggressors from the

beginning; you ought, therefore, to make the first overture. I say again, my lords, you have been the aggressors, you have made descents upon their coasts, you have burned their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons;—you have injured, oppressed, and endeavoured to enslave them. America is therefore entitled to redress. Let then reparation come from the hand that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed to oppression; and I maintain, that parliament will again recover its authority; that his majesty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his subjects; and that your lordships, as contributing to so great, benignant, and glorious an event, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire.

The peers in administration repeated upon this occasion their accustomed arguments against concessions of any kind, as an acknowledgment of weakness on our part, which would excite the contempt of our friends, and foster the malice of our enemies. They positively denied any danger from France, and asserted, that “the assistance given to the Americans proceeded neither from the court nor the ministers, but from the spirit of military enterprise and commercial adventure; and finally, that the motion
arraigned

arraigned in the most improper terms measures which had received the sanction of parliament." On a division, the numbers were 99 to 28 peers who supported the question.

On the 7th of June, 1777, the session was terminated, and his majesty expressed in his speech his entire approbation of the conduct of parliament, lavishing upon them high and flattering compliments for the unquestionable proofs they had given of their CLEAR DISCERNMENT of the TRUE INTERESTS of their COUNTRY. The pride and presumption of the court seemed at this period to have no bounds or limits. The American government having a very considerable number of British prisoners in their possession, applied during the spring of the present year, through the medium of Dr. Franklin, resident of the United States at Paris, to lord Stormont, ambassador from the king of England, to exchange them for an equal number of Americans. To which his lordship made this memorable answer: "The king's ambassador receives no application from rebels, unless they come to implore his majesty's mercy." Thus wantonly and wickedly were the horrors of war deepened, and thus the eternal principles of justice and mercy sacrificed to the barbarous and wretched etiquette of a court.

During the session a memorial in a very unusual

usual style had been delivered by sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador at the Hague, to the States General, in which his excellency declared, " That the king, his master, had hitherto borne with unexampled patience the irregular conduct of the subjects of their High Mightinesses, in their interested commerce at St. Eustatia, as also in America. If, said the ambassador, the measures which your High Mightinesses have thought proper to take, had been as efficacious as your assurances have been amicable, the undersigned would not now have been under the necessity of bringing to the cognizance of your High Mightinesses facts of the most serious nature. His excellency then proceeds to state, that M. Van Graaf, governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted the seizure of an English vessel, by an *American pirate*, within cannon shot of the island; and that he had returned from the fortress of his government the salute of a rebel flag: and the ambassador concludes with demanding, in his majesty's name, and by his express order, from their High Mightinesses, a formal disavowal of the salute by Fort Orange at St. Eustatia to the rebel ship, and the dismissal and immediate recall of the governor Van Graaf; declaring farther, that until such satisfaction is given they are not to expect that his majesty will suffer himself to be amused by mere assurances, or that he will delay

lay one instant to take such measures as he shall think due to the interest and dignity of his crown."

The States, highly offended at the imperious language of this memorial, would give no answer whatever to the ambassador, but ordered count Welderen, their resident in London, to deliver into the king of England's own hand a counter-memorial, in which they complain of the menacing tone that reigns throughout that of the English court, such as ought not to take place between sovereign and independent powers; adding, however, "that from the sole motive of demonstrating their regard to his majesty, they have actually dispatched orders to M. De Graaf to render himself within the republic without delay, in order to give the necessary information respecting his conduct; nor do they scruple to disavow, in the most express manner, any act or mark of honour which may have been given by their officers to any vessels belonging to the colonies of America, so far as it may imply a *recognition of American independence*." The king thought proper to declare himself satisfied with these concessions, but the utmost coolness from this time subsisted between the courts of London and the Hague.

The acrimony displayed on this occasion by the former may be without doubt imputed in

a great degree to the extreme offence taken, previous to the interchange of these memorials, at the refusal of the States to part with the *Scots brigade* in their service, at the desire of the king of England, signified by a letter written to their High Mightinesses in his own hand. "In what an odious light must this unnatural civil war appear to all Europe!" said one of the deputies of the province of Overijssel, M. Vander Capelle, in the debate which arose on this subject. "More odious still would it appear for a nation to take part therein who have successfully resisted oppression, and fought themselves free. Superlatively detestable must it appear to those who, like me, regard the Americans as a brave people, engaged in defending those rights which they derive from God, not from the legislature of Great Britain. For the purpose of suppressing such a revolt, or, as some please to call it, such a rebellion as this, I had rather see janissaries hired than the subjects of a free state."

BOOK VI.

Military Operations in the Jerseys. General Howe's Expedition to the Chesapeake. Victory at the Brandywine, and Capture of Philadelphia. Second Engagement at German-town. Success on Lake Champlain. General Burgoyne takes Ticonderoga—Arrives at the North River. Disasters at Bennington and Fort Stanwix. Distress and final Surrender of Burgoyne's Army. Session of Parliament—Motion of Lord Chatham. Mr. Fox's second Motion of Enquiry—carried. Motion relative to the Canada Expedition by Lord Chatham. Proceedings of the Committee of Enquiry. Lord North's second Plan of Conciliation. Hostile Declaration of France. Death of the Earl of Chatham. Discontents in Ireland. Act for the Relief of the Roman-Catholics. The Minority gains Strength. Failure of Lord North's second Plan of Conciliation. General Howe resigns his Command to Sir Henry Clinton. Battle of Monmouth Court House—Disgrace of General Lee. Arrival of the French Fleet off the Delaware. Lord Howe's able Conduct and subsequent Resignation. Count d'Estaing's unsuccessful attack at St. Lucia. Destruction of the Settlement of Wyoming. Conquest of Georgia under General Prevost. Indecisive Engagement with the French Fleet off Ushant, Trial and Acquittal of Admiral Keppel. Trial and Disgrace of Sir Hugh Palliser. Motion of Lord Rockingham respecting the American Commissioners. Mr. Fox's Motion of Censure on Lord Sandwich. Bill for enlarging the Toleration Act. Memorable Speech of Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph. Ineffectual Efforts in Parliament for the Relief of Ireland. Motion by Mr. Fox for the Removal of Lord Sandwich. Committee of Enquiry respecting the Conduct of the American War. Motion by the Earl of Bristol for the Removal of Lord Sandwich. Hostile Declaration of Spain. Dissensions in the Cabinet. Lord Thurlow succeeds Lord Bathurst as Chancellor of Great Bri-

tain. Invasion of South Carolina by General Prevost. Alternate Successes of the American and British Armies. Capture of St. Vincent's and Grenada by the French. Count d'Estaing repulsed at Savannah. Charlestown taken by Sir Henry Clinton. The combined Fleets of France and Spain enter the Channel. Alarming Situation of Ireland. Serapis Man of War taken by Captain Paul Jones. Misunderstanding between the Courts of London and the Hague. Pondicherry captured by the English. Senegal taken by the French.

THE CAMPAIGN of 1777, in America, commenced early in the spring by the destruction of a considerable magazine of stores at a place called Courtland-Manor, on the banks of the North River, by a detachment under colonel Bird; and another at Danbury, by another corps conducted by general Tryon, late governor of New York, who was attacked on his return by a large body of provincials, led by colonel now general Arnold, and suffered great loss in his retreat. Arnold on this as on all occasions distinguished himself by acts of extraordinary personal valor. His horse being shot under him, he with difficulty disengaged himself; and seeing a soldier at the same moment with a fixed bayonet advancing towards him, he drew out a pistol and shot him dead on the spot. The Americans on their part retaliated by an attack on the English post and magazine at Saggs Harbour, in Long Island, where they destroyed a large quantity of stores, and burnt a number of sloops
and

and other vessels lying in the harbour, with inconsiderable loss; colonel Meigs, who commanded the detachment on this service, returning to his former station at Guilford in Connecticut, after traversing an extent of ninety miles by land and water, in the space of twenty-five hours. Lord Cornwallis continued in his station at Amboy, watched and straitened in a manner which exposed the troops to the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty, though lately strengthened by a brigade of British, and some companies of grenadiers and light infantry from Rhode Island. The order for these troops was sent by General now SIR WILLIAM HOWE (the blushing honors of the Bath having been recently conferred upon him in reward of his services) to lord Percy, in the absence of general Clinton. His lordship did not immediately comply, but returned for answer, "that the enemy were collecting a large force near Providence, with which circumstance he supposed general Howe to be unacquainted:" adding, "that he thought it his duty to represent the danger that might result from sending away so large a corps." General Howe replied, "that lord Percy knew the consequence of disobedience of orders—trial by court-martial and certain sentence of being broke—and insisted upon his orders being punctually obeyed."

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From some extraordinary and unaccountable negligence, the army at New York were not able to take the field till June, for want of tents and camp equipage; which at length arriving, general Howe passed over in full force into the Jerseys, with a fixed intention if possible to bring the American commander to a general action; but on approaching his camp at Middlebrook, it was found absolutely inaccessible, from the nature of its situation and its artificial defences. Every manœuvre was practised by the English general to induce his antagonist to relinquish this advantageous station, but in vain. A feint was made of leaving the American army in the rear, and marching directly to the Delawar; but the American FABIVS was not to be deceived. "Had their design," said he, in his letter of the 17th of June, "been in the first instance to cross the Delawar, they would probably have made a straight rapid march towards it, and not have halted as they have done to awaken our attention, and give us time to make every preparation for obstructing them." At length general Howe decamped suddenly in the night of the 20th, and retreated to Brunswick. On the 22d he fell back to Amboy, being much harassed in his whole line of march by the advanced parties of the enemy. General Washington himself, quitting his strong camp at Middlebrook,

brook, moved with his army to Quibble-town, that he might be nearer the royal forces, and might act according to circumstances. The English commander, who had actually thrown a bridge over the channel which separates the continent from Staten Island, and part of whose troops had already passed over, now made a rapid march by different routes back into the Jerseys, in the hope of surprising general Washington at Quibble-town; but on the first intelligence of this movement, the American general, penetrating the design, re-possest himself of his former strong position at Middlebrook:—and knowing that lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detached corps, was advancing by a circuitous route to the right, he fortified the passes of the mountains on that side of his camp; so that lord Cornwallis, who had defeated in his march a considerable body of the enemy under lord Sterling, and who hoped to have co-operated with general Howe by securing the passes in the rear, was compelled reluctantly to retire.

The whole plan of attack being thus frustrated, general Howe came to a second and final resolution of evacuating the Jerseys; and, in both his retreats, such havoc, spoil, and ruin, were made by the forces under his personal inspection and command, as were well calculated to obviate the suspicion that any secret partiality to
America

America yet remained in the breast of the English general.

A great part of the summer had now elapsed, and the primary object of the campaign had proved wholly abortive. In vindication of the conduct of sir William Howe it was alleged, that to bring the enemy to action was impossible; and to advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile, and with such a force in his rear, would be no better than *madness*. But if so, the war itself was evidently no better than *madness*, as these difficulties were precisely such as they had every reason previously to expect. Another project, however, was now to be tried, and preparations were made for a grand naval expedition. On the 23d of July the whole army, leaving only a sufficient force for the defence of New York, embarked on board the fleet, and after a long and tedious voyage the troops were landed at Elk Ferry, at the head of Chesapeak Bay. General Washington, who had for many weeks been kept in anxious suspense as to the destination of the British army, upon this intelligence took possession of the heights on the eastern side of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delaware below Philadelphia, with an intention to dispute the passage. By day-break on the 11th of September the British army advanced in two columns: the right, com-
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manded by general Knyphausen, marching directly to Chadsford ; and the other column, under lord Cornwallis, taking a circuit to the left, in order to cross the *forks* of the Brandywine, and attack the enemy on the right flank. Both were in a considerable degree successful ; the first after a severe conflict forcing the passage of the ford, and the latter surprising and totally discomfiting the brigades commanded by Sullivan, which composed the right wing of the American army. The approach of night prevented the royal army from pursuing its advantages, and the loss of the Americans did not exceed thirteen hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners ; to which that of the British bore a very large proportion. The marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, who had recently entered as a volunteer into the American service, and count Pulawski, a native of Poland, distinguished themselves by their gallantry on this occasion. General Washington, on the disaster of Brandywine, retreated towards Philadelphia ; but on the advance of general Howe, not deeming it expedient so soon to risk a second engagement, he withdrew, and the English army passed the Schuylkil without opposition ; and on the 26th of September general Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph, the congress having previously removed their sittings to Yorktown

town in Virginia. About the same time a detached corps of Americans, commanded by general Wayne, was surprised and totally routed by major-general Grey, at the head of two regiments and a body of light-infantry. The attack being made with fixed bayonets, the execution was terrible.

No sooner was it known to lord Howe that the English army was in possession of Philadelphia, than he moved round with the fleet from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavoured to render impracticable by works and batteries constructed on a low marshy island, formed near the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkil; and on the opposite shore, by a strong fort erected at a place called Red Bank. Across the mid-channel they had in various parts sunk vast machines, composed of transverse beams firmly united and pointing in various directions, strongly headed with iron, to which, from the resemblance of form, the appellation was given of *chevaux-de-frize*. The head-quarters of the army at this time were at a place called German-town, six miles from Philadelphia—the encampment crossing the village at right angles about the centre. General Washington, who was posted in a strong position at the distance of about sixteen miles on the banks of the Schuylkil, and who had kept

kept a watchful eye on the movements of the enemy, thinking this a favorable opportunity of attack, decamped in the evening of the 3d of October, and, marching all night, arrived at three in the morning at German-town. The fortieth regiment, commanded by colonel Mufgrave, who were first attacked, made so gallant a resistance, that the whole army had time to form; and major-general Grey bringing up the left wing by a rapid and seasonable movement, the Americans were reduced to act on the defensive, and, after a conflict maintained for several hours in darkness and confusion, were compelled to retreat, but with so little loss that they carried off with them their whole train of artillery. Though the disappointment of the enemy was great, the English commander had little reason to boast of his victory; the killed and wounded in this engagement considerably exceeded the loss of Brandywine, and it was perceived with sensible chagrin that the Americans had become no mean proficients in the art of war..

A necessary work of very great importance and no small difficulty was now to be attempted in the attack of the works at Red Bank and the opposite island, which commanded the passage of the Delawar, without the free navigation of which neither fleet nor army could winter at
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Philadelphia. On the 22d of October an effort was made, by a numerous body of Hessians, commanded by colonel Donop, to storm the fortrefs of Red Bank ; but, after displaying much bravery, they were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. An unusually fierce attack was at the same time made by the shipping on the works of Fort Island, on which they made little impression ; and the Augusta man of war, and Merlin sloop, in avoiding the *cheveaux-de-frize*, were stranded, and the Augusta by accident blown up. On the 15th of November the attack was renewed with a more formidable force ; and the works being now nearly demolished, the garrison retired in the night across the river in boats to Red Bank, which was also soon afterwards evacuated, for reasons which do not sufficiently appear. The *cheveaux-de-frize* were now weighed with great difficulty, and the free navigation of the river restored ; but winter was by this time approaching, the season for action had elapsed, and no farther military or naval enterprises of moment were attempted during the short remainder of the campaign.

While such was the disappointment resulting from a succession of victories in the south, it will now be necessary to advert to the terrible consequences of defeat and disaster in the North. After the evacuation of Canada by the Americans, in
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the summer of 1776, incredible exertions were made on the part of the English to acquire a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, so necessary to the success of their future projects. A fleet of above thirty vessels, all carrying cannon, was in about three months little less than created, though a few of the largest were re-constructions, having been first framed and sent over from Great Britain. The American fleet, though not inconsiderable, was by no means equal to cope with this great force. It is remarkable that the two fleets were commanded by land-officers; general Carleton and general Arnold being equally ambitious to support on a new element the reputation they had acquired by their military skill and conduct.

Early on the 11th of October, 1776, the British armament, proceeding up the Lake, discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, in a line extending from the island of Valicourt to the western main. A warm action ensued, in which the Americans, notwithstanding the extraordinary courage and intrepid efforts of their commander, were entirely defeated. General Arnold was under the necessity of setting fire to his own ship, the Congress galley, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English, not quitting her however till she was actually in flames; and, with nice and dangerous attention

to the point of honor, keeping his flag flying to the last moment. Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, the enemy's force being nearly destroyed—a few small vessels only making their escape to Ticonderoga. Crown Point, on this disastrous event, was immediately abandoned, and the American force concentrated at Ticonderoga; which being adjudged too strongly defended to be attacked with success at this advanced season, general Carleton now put his troops into winter cantonments in Canada.

In all the complex and hazardous operations of the Canadian war, general Carleton had conducted himself with equal judgment, vigor, and success, and his generous and humane treatment of the prisoners which had fallen into his hands formed a striking contrast to the barbarity which pervaded the military prisons of New York. Of the Indians in his service general Carleton had made a very sparing use, and at the end of the campaign they were dismissed on a general promise of returning when called for. But it was believed that he had, in his dispatches to England, strongly remonstrated against the employment of savages in any shape whatever in the farther prosecution of this war. Whether on this or on other accounts offence was taken at his conduct, cannot certainly be known; but, to the surprise, and no doubt to the chagrin, of the

the governor, general Burgoyne, who had passed the winter in England, arrived early in the spring of 1777 in America, with a commission appointing him general of the northern army beyond the limits of the province of Canada.

The plan of the intended expedition southward of the Lakes had been entirely concerted between the American secretary and general Burgoyne, who, to use his own courtly language, "had thrown himself at his majesty's FEET, to be employed in any way that he thought proper*." In pursuance of this plan, general Burgoyne proceeded up Lake Champlain, and landed a little to the northward of Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congress, and in compliance with their customs gave them a WAR FEAST; and in an harangue which he afterwards

* This is a mode of expression indicating the vilest and most servile degradation, such as might become the mouth of a Persian satrap, in addressing a Sha Abbas or a Sha Nadir. How different is the language of a mind ennobled by the conscious sense of freedom, virtue, and dignity!

"Go, vassal souls! Go cringe and wait,
Bend when he speaks, and KISS the GROUND;
Adore the follies of the Great,
Ye base-born minds! But as for me,
I can and will be free:
My soul grows firm upright:
Let slaves and asses stoop and bow;
I cannot make this stubborn knee
Bend to a meaner power than that which formed it free."

made to these savages, he endeavored to excite their ardor, and at the same time to repress their barbarity—incompatibilities which no art or eloquence could hope to reconcile. This was followed (June 1777) by a manifesto, in which the general, in language approaching the oriental style of exaggeration and bombast, strove to inspire the Americans with terror, by a representation of the irresistible force which he commanded, and to awe them into submission by menaces, which produced no other effect than, by exciting their utmost resentment and detestation, to rouse them more strongly into action*.

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* Such was the sanguine and savage spirit which breathed throughout this famous proclamation, unparalleled except in one very recent instance, that the following lines from Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* were not unhappily applied to it as a kind of comment or paraphrase:

“———Let not thy sword skip one.

Pity not honored age for his white beard.

Strike me the matron—Let not the virgin's cheek

Make soft thy trenchant sword—Spare not the babe

Whose dimpled smiles from fools exhaust their mercy;

Mince it without remorse.”

The style and phraseology of this strange declaration seem modelled upon those of *Antient Pistol*. A slight specimen will evince how contemptible it is in a literary, how detestable in a political view. “In consciousness of Christianity,” thus it concludes, “my royal master's clemency, and the honor of soldiery, I have dwelt upon this invitation, and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression. And let not people be led to disregard it, by considering their distance
from

After a short stay at Crown Point the army proceeded under convoy of the shipping on the Lake to Ticonderoga, a post of uncommon natural strength, and rendered famous by the disastrous attack made upon it by general Abercrombie in the preceding war. Here the Americans appeared to be in great force, and they had bestowed infinite labor in repairing the old works and in adding new, so that the siege of this fortress was considered as an enterprise of great hazard and difficulty; but, on the first

from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk. If, notwithstanding these endeavours and sincere inclination to effect them, the phrensy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return."—General Burgoyne, at the head of the Northern Army engaged in this impious warfare against liberty, may be compared to Crassus marching out of the gates of Rome on his unjust expedition against the Parthians, upon whom, at the moment of his departure, we are told that Atticus, the Roman tribune, arrayed in the consecrated vestments used in the dreadful ceremonies of the auspices, and scattering incense from the sacred vessels, denounced curses and execrations, solemnly devoting his legions to utter and remediless destruction.

approach of the English, it was suddenly and unaccountably evacuated by the garrison on the night of the 5th of July, by direction of the commander General St. Clair, leaving behind them their artillery, provisions, and stores. No sooner had the first dawn of the morning discovered the flight of the enemy, than preparations were made for a vigorous pursuit both by land and water. The main body of the Americans were quickly overtaken and entirely defeated by general Frazer; and their remaining navah force, which had rendezvoused at Skenesborough, was destroyed by general Burgoyne. The fugitive Americans retreated with the utmost precipitation to Fort Edmund, on the North or Hudson's River, where general chuyler, commander in chief of the American northern army, had fixed his head-quarters.

The British army, highly elated at the rapid series of successes which had hitherto attended them, now exerted indefatigable industry in clearing the Wood Creek, which is a continuation of Lake Champlain, from the obstacles which impeded the passage of the batteaux; and in conveying gun-boats, provision-vessels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. From Fort Anne, at the extremity of the Wood Creek, where the batteaux-navigation ends, to Fort Edward, a distance scarcely exceeding twenty miles, the

the difficulties attending the march of the army were inconceivably great. In this short space they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was over a morass two miles in extent, and the roads were every where obstructed by large timber trees laid across with their branches interwoven. The heavy train of artillery which accompanied the army was also found a great incombrance, and it was not without infinite labor and perseverance that on the 30th of July general Burgoyne fixed his headquarters at Fort Edward—the Americans having now retired to Saratoga. The joy with which the sight of the North River, so long the object of their hopes and wishes, inspired the army, seemed to be considered as an ample compensation for all their labors; and with unremitted ardor they now bent all their efforts to bring forward provisions and stores from Fort George, at the extremity of the lake of that name, sufficient to form a magazine for the subsistence of the troops in their march through the wild and uncultivated country they had yet to traverse. So ineffectual, however, were their utmost exertions, that on the 15th of August they had only four days' provision in store; and the general understanding that a large magazine was collected at Bennington, twenty miles to the eastward of Hudson's River, for the use of the

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enemy,

enemy, he detached colonel Baum at the head of about five hundred men to surprise the place: at the same time moving with the whole army up the eastern shore of Hudson's River, he encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga. The colonel, finding his destination discovered, and his force wholly insufficient to the purpose, took post at a small distance from Bennington, whence he communicated intelligence of his situation to general Burgoyne, who dispatched colonel Breyman with about an equal force to his assistance. The provincial general, Starke, who commanded the militia of the district, determined however to lose no time in attacking the first party before any reinforcement should arrive; and the provincials surrounding on every side the small corps of colonel Baum, forced their entrenchments, made themselves masters of their cannon; and after a brave resistance, in which many were killed or wounded, the rest surrendered themselves prisoners. Colonel Breyman, who had no suspicion of this event, arrived nearly at the same spot on the evening of the same day: he was attacked with the same resolution, and with much difficulty effected a retreat, with the loss of his artillery, and with ranks dreadfully diminished. This was a heavy and unlooked-for stroke. In the mean time colonel St. Leger, who commanded a separate corps on the Mohawk

hawk River, and had, in conjunction with colonel Johnson and a great body of Indians who committed their accustomed horrid ravages, invested Fort Stanwix, was compelled by the governor, colonel Gansevort, to raise the siege, leaving behind him his artillery and stores.

At this period general Gates was appointed to supersede general Schuyler in the command of the northern army; and the spirits of the provincials being much raised by their late successes and the long inaction of general Burgoyne, a formidable and increasing army was collected in the vicinity of Still Water, on the western bank of Hudson's River, some miles to the southward of Saratoga. Notwithstanding the present unpromising prospect, general Burgoyne, having now about thirty days' provision in store, resolved, without calling any council of war, to pass the river, which he effected about the middle of September, and encamped on the heights of Saratoga, the enemy not receding from their position at Still Water. In his public dispatches, the general offers the following very extraordinary reasons for this determination: "The peremptory tenor of his orders, and the season of the year, admitted no alternative. The expedition, says he, which I commanded, was evidently meant at first to be *hazarded*—circumstances might require it should be *devoted*. A
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critical junction of Mr. Gates's force with Mr. Washington might possibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of any junction with sir Henry Clinton, or the loss of my retreat to Canada, could be only a partial misfortune." Notwithstanding this ingenious apology, it is probable that the idea of *devoting* his own army, in order to save that of sir William Howe, did not occur to general Burgoyne, till, by a series of unlooked-for disasters, it was actually and irretrievably *devoted*; nor is there just ground for the assertion, that it was meant to be *hazarded* in any peculiar or unusual sense. So sanguine in fact were the ideas of the court of St. James's, that the possibility of a failure was scarcely within the compass of their contemplation.

As the army advanced along the western bank of the river, towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and intersected with creeks, which made a continual repair of bridges necessary. At length, on the 19th of September, they were attacked with unexpected vigor by the Americans: the action lasted from noon till sun-set, when the royal army were left in possession of the field. This was the sole advantage they could boast, nor could any difference be discerned in the behaviour of the provincial militia and the veteran troops of Britain, on this hard and
well,

well-fought day. The royal army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning they took a position in front of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left to the banks of the river. At this crisis general Burgoyne received a letter in cypher from general Clinton, informing him of his design to make a diversion in his favour, by an expedition up the North River, which, though far short of the aid he had once expected, he in reply urged general Clinton to the immediate performance of: declaring his intention, in hope of favorable events, to remain in his present position till the 12th of October.

Early in the month, general Clinton, at the head of about 4000 troops, proceeded up the North River to Forts Montgomery and Constitution, which they reduced. They afterwards broke an immense boom and chain extending from shore to shore, and burnt several ships and armed vessels lying in the river; without any apparent provocation or necessity, also destroying many delightful and elegant mansions on its banks, with the whole of the beautiful village of Esopus. This dreadful work of devastation, according to the striking description of a writer who was himself an actor in the scene, exhibited a most splendid and majestic spectacle. "The flames from the frigates and galleys suddenly

denly bursting forth, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep face of the opposite mountain, and the long train of ruddy light that shone upon the water for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; whilst the ear was awfully filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores as the flames gradually reached the cannon. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which again left all to darkness *." It was now unquestionably in their power to have proceeded without interruption to Albany; but the loss they had sustained in the midst of their successes, and the apprehension that their communication with New York would be in the end cut off, probably induced general Clinton to return, and the northern army was left to its fate. A considerable provincial force had now formed in the rear of general Burgoyne, and, making themselves masters of the posts on Lake George, effectually obstructed any supplies of provision or stores from that quarter,

In the beginning of October, the English general thought it necessary to lessen the rations of the soldiers. On the 7th of that month, a detachment of 1500 men, conducted by the general in person, made a movement to the right,

* Vide Stedman's History of the American War.

in order to discover if there were any possible means of forcing a passage. In the mean time the Americans, perceiving the lines weakened by this movement, fell with the utmost fury upon the left and centre of the British army, which, being totally overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retire within their lines: they had scarcely entered them, when the Americans, pursuing with eagerness their success, stormed them in different parts with uncommon fierceness, under a heavy fire of artillery, grape-shot, and musquetry. General Arnold, who commanded the attack, and performed prodigies of valor, being grievously wounded, was obliged to retire; and night at length put an end to the engagement, not however before the German entrenchments had been carried sword in hand, and a lodgment made which left every other quarter dangerously exposed. It was therefore judged absolutely necessary to take a new position; and, amidst the darkness and horrors of this fatal night, the whole army retreated in deep and silent sadness to the heights in the rear of their former encampment.

On the next day the general continued his retreat to Saratoga, where, on his arrival, he found the passes already occupied in force by the enemy. The farther shores of the river were also lined with numerous detachments of troops,

troops, which, with the assistance of their batteaux, entirely commanded the navigation; and no hope now remained but in a rapid nocturnal march to Fort Edward, abandoning their artillery and baggage. But while preparations were making for this purpose, intelligence was received, that the enemy were strongly entrenched opposite the fords at Fort Edward, and that the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George were also every where secured and fortified. The attempt was therefore considered as hopeless and desperate; and three days' subsistence only remaining in the camp, the dreadful necessity became apparent, of proposing to general Gates terms of capitulation. After a short negotiation, a CONVENTION was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the British army should march out of the camp with the honors of war, and then lay down their arms; and be allowed a free embarkation from Boston to Europe, upon condition of their not serving again in America during the present war. Upon this ever memorable occasion, the generosity of the American commander would not suffer an individual to leave the camp to witness the degrading spectacle of piling the British arms. Such was the melancholy catastrophe of an army consisting, at its departure from Canada, of above 10,000 men, but now reduced by the sword,

sword, by famine, hardships, and disease, to little more than half the original number *. The whole plan of this campaign was, as might reasonably be supposed from its disastrous conclusion, most severely censured. A co-operation of the two principal armies under the generals Howe and Burgoyne had been universally expected; and so firmly persuaded was general Washington that a junction between them was in contemplation, that when the British army at New York had actually embarked on the expedition to the Chesapeake, the American general long persisted in his opinion that the fleet was destined to the northward.

On the 30th of July he wrote from Coriel's Ferry, on the Delawar: "Howe's in a manner abandoning Burgoyne is so unaccountable a matter, that till I am fully assured it is so, I can-

* The catastrophe of Saratoga will recall to the recollection of the classical reader the fate of the Roman army under Aulus in the Jugurthine war, as described by the picturesque and majestic pencil of SALLUST. "*Milites ex hibernis in expeditionem Aulus advocat—hieme asperâ pervenit ad oppidum Suthul. Jugurtha, cognitâ vanitate atque imperitiâ legati, ipse per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ducere—in tempestivâ nocte de improvîso multitudine Numidarum Ausi castris circumvenit. Milites Romani percussî tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, trepidare—cælum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum—periculum anceps. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit, incolumis omnis sub jugum missurum, uti diebus decem Numidiâ decederet.*"

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not help casting my eyes continually behind me." When the English fleet, after touching at the Capes of Delawar, again stood out to sea, general Washington still writes under the influence of the same persuasion: "It appears," says he, "that general Howe has been practising a deep feint to draw our whole force to this point. Counter-march your division, and proceed with all possible expedition to Peek's-kill." Again, August 3: "The conduct of the enemy is difficult and distressing to be understood;" and not till the latter end of the month was the doubt entirely removed. "The English fleet," says he (August 22), "have entered the Chesapeake; there is not now the least danger of Howe's going to New England." It does not however appear that this co-operation was at any time in the contemplation of sir William Howe; and the first intimation that any support whatever would be expected from him in favor of the northern expedition was contained in a letter of lord George Germaine, received by sir William Howe when actually in the Bay of Chesapeake, in which he says, "I trust that, whatever you meditate, it will be executed in time to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada." The American minister, as well as the governor of Canada, had been apprised of general Howe's intended march to
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the Delawar ; and could lord George Germaine possibly imagine, that the purposes of the southern expedition could be answered, and general Howe be able to return in proper time to co-operate with general Burgoyne in the northern ? The truth is, that no traces are discernible of any regular plan for the conduct of the campaign, or of any grand or masterly co-operation of means for the attainment of any precise or determinate object. Vague and general hopes were entertained, that the army under general Burgoyne, with such aid as he might eventually derive from the central force at New York, would suffice for the subjugation of the northern provinces, and that general Howe would in the mean time accomplish the conquest of the southern. Such were the flattering delusions which, at the distance of 3000 miles, passed at the court of St. James's for sober and rational expectancies ; and in the annals of history, Minden and Saratoga will ever remain incontrovertible proofs, that lord George Germaine was as great in the cabinet as lord George Sackville had been in the field.

On the 20th of November, 1777, the parliament assembled. Previous to this period, the exultation of the court, on the intelligence of the first successes of general Burgoyne, had suffered a sudden and grievous check by the last

VOL. II, x dispatches

dispatches of that commander, written after the defeat of the detachments of Baum and Breyman, when the tide of fortune was evidently setting strong against him. The royal speech, however, discovered no symptoms of dejection; no relentings, no forebodings. His majesty expressed his "confidence, that the spirit and intrepidity of his forces would be attended with important success; but intimated the necessity of preparing for such farther operations as the contingencies of the war and the OBSTINACY OF THE REBELS might render expedient. He expressed his determination *steadily to pursue* the measures in which they were engaged, and his hope that the DELUDED AND UNHAPPY MULTITUDE would finally return to their allegiance."—In the house of commons, the address, which was moved by lord Hyde, was opposed by the marquis of Granby, who brought forward an amendment, in substance recommending to his majesty measures of accommodation, and an immediate cessation of hostilities, as necessary for effectuating so desirable a purpose. This, after a long and vehement discussion, was rejected by a majority of 243 to 86.—But the debate in the upper house was rendered peculiarly interesting by the presence of lord Chatham, who himself moved an amendment of similar import to that of lord Granby, which he supported with

with all that energy and eloquence which had formerly produced such mighty effects, and which must now have roused the nation from its death-like torpor, had this been within the compass of human virtue or human ability. He said, "It had been usual, on similar occasions of public difficulty and distress, for the crown to make application to that house, the great hereditary council of the nation, for advice and assistance. As it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it. But, on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on your counsels, no advice is asked of parliament; but the crown, from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue its own preconcerted measures;—and what measures, my lords? Measures which have produced hitherto nothing but disappointments and defeats. I CANNOT, my lords, I WILL NOT join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment; it is not a time for adulation; the smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of TRUTH. We must, if possible, dispel the delusion and darkness which envelop it; and display in its full danger, and genuine colors, the ruin which is brought to

our doors. Can ministers still presume to expect support in their infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and duty as to give their support to measures thus obtruded and forced upon them?—measures, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to scorn and contempt! ‘But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world;—now, none so poor to do her reverence.’ The people whom we at first despised as *rebels*, but whom we now acknowledge as *enemies*, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by your inveterate enemy—and our ministers do not, and dare not, interpose with dignity or effect. The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known. No man more highly esteems and honors the English troops than I do: I know their virtues and their valor; I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You CANNOT, my lords, you CANNOT conquer America. What is your present situation there? *We do not know the worst*: but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. You may swell every expence, and strain every effort, accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic to the *stables* of every German despot,

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your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent—doubly so, indeed, from this mercenary aid, on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your adversaries to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—NEVER, NEVER, NEVER! But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the *tomahawk* and *scalping-knife* of the savage?—to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods?—to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, our army can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier. No longer are their feelings awake to the ‘pride, pomp, and circumstance of GLORIOUS war;’—but the sense of honor is degraded into a vile spirit of plunder, and the systematic practice of murder. From the antient connection between Great Britain

and her colonies, both parties derived the most important advantage. While the shield of our protection was extended over America, she was the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the basis of our power. It is not, my lords, a wild and lawless banditti whom we oppose: the resistance of America is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots. Let us then seize with eagerness the present moment of reconciliation. America has not yet finally given herself up to France: there yet remains a possibility of escape from the fatal effect of our delusions. In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness, and calamity, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed, WHERE is the man who will venture to flatter us with the hope of success from perseverance in measures productive of these dire effects? Who has the effrontery to attempt it? Where is that man? Let him, if he DARE, stand forward and shew his face. You cannot conciliate America by your present measures; you cannot subdue her by your present or any measures. What then can you do?—You cannot conquer, you cannot gain; but you can ADDRESS—you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into ignorance of the danger that should produce them. I did hope, instead of that false and empty pride engendering
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high conceits and presumptuous imaginations, that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors—would have confessed and retracted them, and, by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my lords, since they have neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun those calamities; since not even bitter experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore, my lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his majesty—To recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power, and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity."

Lord Suffolk, secretary of state, in the course of the debate contended for the employment of Indians in the war—"Besides its policy and necessity," his lordship said "that the measure was also allowable on *principle*, for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and Nature had put into our hands."

This moving the indignation of lord Chatham, he suddenly rose, and gave full vent to his feelings, in one of the most extraordinary bursts of eloquence that the pen of history has recorded : “ I am astonished !” exclaimed his lordship, “ shocked, to hear such principles confessed ! to hear them avowed in this house, or even in this country ! My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself IMPELLED to speak. My lords, we are called upon, as members of this house, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity.—That God and Nature put into our hands ! What ideas of God and Nature that noble lord may entertain I know not—but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.—What ! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife !—to the cannibal-savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims ! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honor. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend and this most learned bench to vindicate the religion
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of their God, to support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn—upon the judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine—to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honor of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the GENIUS of the CONSTITUTION. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country*. In vain did he defend the liberty and establish the religion of Britain against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send forth the merciless cannibal thirsting for blood!—against whom?—Your Protestant brethren—to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name by the aid and instrumentality of these horrible HELL-HOUNDS of WAR! Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; but we, more ruthless, loose these

* Lord Effingham, lord high-admiral of England, of the illustrious house of Howard, whose name is immortalised in history, by his defeat of the Spanish Armada, depicted on the tapestry of the house of lords.

DOGS of WAR against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My lords, I solemnly call upon your lordships, and upon every order of men in the state, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly I call upon the holy prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity; let them perform a lustration to purify their country from this deep and deadly sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more, but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles."

Although lord Chatham on this occasion seemed, like some "great master of the powerful spell," to have uttered "those thrilling accents that awake the dead," the event, as on former occasions, proved that no impression could be made on the temper and disposition of the house, more cold and callous than alpine snows or monumental marble; for, on the division, 28 lords only voted in support of the motion, against 97 who opposed it.

On the 2d of December (1777) Mr. Fox moved for an enquiry into the state of the nation, in which the minister professed his cordial acquiescence.

cence. Amongst other papers which were thought necessary to elucidate the subsequent investigation, Mr. Fox moved for returns of such colonies or places as had in pursuance of the powers vested in the commissioners been declared at the king's peace, or copies of such papers as had relation thereto. This motion the minister vehemently opposed, and declared he neither could nor would consent to make discoveries inconsistent with sound wisdom and policy, and prejudicial to the real interests of the country.

During the heat of the debate intelligence was brought, that, in consequence of a motion of the duke of Grafton, these very papers had been actually laid upon the table of the other house; but the minister, as if to try how far the obsequiousness of the house would extend, still persisted in his refusal, and maintained "that the house of commons were not to be guided in their determinations by any extrinsic consideration;" and on a division, incredible as it may seem, the motion was actually negatived by a majority of 178 to 89. An act by which the dignity of the house was more wantonly sacrificed by ministerial caprice and insolence, it would be most assuredly impossible to find on the records of parliament.

The succeeding day was rendered for ever memorable by the disclosure of the melancholy catastrophe at Saratoga. The American secretary
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being called upon to declare the purport of the dispatches recently received from Canada, with shame and reluctance communicated the intelligence of that fatal event. This was followed by a long and profound silence, and one general sentiment of amazement and consternation seemed to pervade the house. At length a torrent of invective, accompanied by taunts the most bitter and sarcastic, were poured out by the leaders of the opposition against the ministers, whose pride, ignorance, and incapacity, had occasioned a more signal disgrace and calamity than had ever before in the most disastrous war befallen the British arms. Mr. Fox, animadverting in a strain of the most poignant satire upon the cabinet plans of policy for a series of years past, and the remedial measures adopted by the executive power to heal the disorders of the state, stigmatized the minister as "a political Sangrado. Bleeding was his only prescription for all ills. Should mortal symptoms appear in the body politic in consequence of this regimen, still this state empiric will persist in crying out for more blood, merely because he has staked his reputation on the assertion that this is the only effectual remedy." The time did not serve for bold and lofty language on the part of ministers. Lord North, with much apparent dejection, and even tears—the "iron tears" of disappointed pride and fallen ambition—

ambition—acknowledged “that he had indeed been unfortunate, but that his intentions were ever just and upright; that he had originally been in a manner forced into an office which he would most willingly and gladly resign, could his resignation facilitate the obtaining that peace and reconciliation for which he had ever earnestly wished.” The American minister also professed, in terms of humiliation, “that he should be ever ready to submit his conduct to the judgment of the house; hoping, nevertheless, that the house would suspend their censures relative to the late unhappy event, till an impartial investigation both of the plan and the execution of it had taken place.”

On the 5th of December (1777) lord Chatham, in consequence of the late intelligence from America, attended the house of peers, and moved, “that an address be presented to his majesty, to cause the proper officers to lay before the house copies of all orders and instructions to general Burgoyne relative to the late expedition from Canada.” Holding up a paper in view of the house, his lordship said, “that he had the king’s speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. That speech, he said, contained a most unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs; it had a specious outside, was full of hopes, while every thing within was full

full of danger. A system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced, his lordship affirmed, within the last fifteen years at St. James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government. A few obscure persons had obtained an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy, and by the most insidious means the nation had been betrayed into a war of which they now reaped the bitter fruits. The SPIRIT OF DE-
LUSION, his lordship said, had gone forth; ministers had imposed on the people; parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; a visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it was now for ever vanished. His lordship said, that the abilities of general Burgoyne were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the wisest and most spirited exertions of human industry. What then is the cause of his misfortunes?—Want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers. His lordship said, the plan of penetrating into the colonies from Canada was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; and the mode of carrying on the war was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious recorded in the annals of history. The arms
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of Britain had been sullied and tarnished by blending the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudson and the Delaware would never wash away. It was impossible for America to forget or forgive so horrid an injury."

In the course of his speech he animadverted in the severest terms on the language recently held by a most reverend prelate, the archbishop of York, both in print and in that house. "The pernicious doctrines advanced by that prelate were, he said, the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel. As a W^{HIG} he abjured and detested them; and he hoped he should yet see the day when they would be deemed libellous, and treated as such."—The motion being negatived, his lordship next moved an address to the king, "that all orders and treaties relative to the employment of the Indian savages be laid before the house."

Lord Gower rose, and, with all that acrimony by which his speeches were usually distinguished, opposed and reprobated the motion, asserting, "that the noble lord had himself employed savages without scruple in the operations of the last war." This charge lord Chatham positively and peremptorily denied, and challenged the ministers, if any such instructions of his were to be found, to produce them. If at all employed,
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they had crept into the service from the occasional utility of their assistance in unexplored parts of the country. He said, "the late king George II. had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and also too much HUMANITY, to agree to such a proposal had it been made to him; and he called upon lord Amherst to declare the truth." Lord Amherst, not able to evade this appeal, reluctantly owned that Indians had been employed on both sides—the French employed them first, he said, and we followed their example; but that he had been authorized to take them into his majesty's service by instructions from the minister, his lordship would not affirm. The motion was dismissed by the previous question.

The two houses in a few days after this determined upon an adjournment to the 20th of January 1778, notwithstanding an animated resistance on the part of the opposition, who demonstrated the impolicy at so critical a juncture of indulging in so long a recess. Lord Chatham on this occasion declared, "that it was with grief and astonishment he heard a proposal made of a nature so extraordinary at a crisis so urgent; when," said he, "my lords, I will be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen. Ministers flatter themselves, whenever the worst comes,

comes, that they shall be able to shelter themselves behind the authority of parliament; but this, my lords, cannot be. They stand COMMITTED, and they must ABIDE the ISSUE. The DAY OF RETRIBUTION is at hand, when the VENGEANCE of a much injured people will, I trust, FALL HEAVILY on the AUTHORS of their RUIN."

During the recess, the spirits of the ministry, which had sunk to so low an ebb, seemed to revive; and the powerful faction of the Tories, which had of late years acquired such an ascendancy under the patronage of the court, being if possible more than ever eager for the subjugation of America, large offers were made from different places for raising new regiments to supply the late heavy loss; and a determination was taken to prosecute the war with redoubled force and vigor.

On an early day after the recess, the house of commons, in consequence of a motion previously made by Mr. Fox, resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation; and, in a most able and comprehensive speech, Mr. Fox entered at great length into a retrospective view of the whole conduct of the present administration respecting America, including as well the measures which led to the war, as the manner in which it had been prosecuted. He laid it down

as an incontrovertible axiom, " that it was impossible for any country to fall within so few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some radical error in its government. The present calamitous state of the nation was evidently to be traced to the blind obstinacy and wretched incapacity of its ministers, who would not listen to any overtures of conciliation, who could not carry into effect any plan of coercion. He made it appear from the papers before them, that at a time when we were in immediate danger of encountering the whole force of the house of Bourbon, united with that of America, the army in England and Ireland had been so reduced and weakened by the continual drain of the war, as to fall several thousand men short of the usual peace establishment. To abandon the ministerial plan of conquest was therefore a matter not of choice but necessity, when the force employed in America was so much diminished in consequence of the late disastrous events, and when it was incapable of being reinforced without leaving this country absolutely without defence. Upon this ground Mr. Fox moved as a resolution of the committee, " that an address should be presented to his majesty, beseeching his majesty that no part of the national force in these kingdoms, or in the garrisons of Gibraltar or Minorca, should be sent
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sent to America." To the infinite surprize of the public, no debate ensued, nor was any reply whatever made to this speech; but the question being called for, the motion was rejected on a division by a majority of 259 to 165, the largest minority that had yet appeared in this parliament in opposition to the ministry.

In a few days after this Mr. Burke moved for the papers relative to the employment of the Indians, and in a speech distinguished by that characteristic glow and warmth of coloring, which in this instance did as much credit to the judgment as the imagination of the speaker, he reprobated the measure as replete with disgrace and infamy. "The Indian mode of making war," he said, "was so horrible as not only to shock the manners of all civilized nations, but far to exceed the ferocity of any other barbarians recorded in antient or modern history. Their chief glory consisted in the number of human scalps which they acquired, and their chief delight was in the practice of torturing, mangling, roasting, and devouring their captives. The attempt to prevent these enormities was wholly unavailing. Those Indians employed both by general Burgoyne and colonel St. Leger had indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children — friends and foes — armed or unarmed, without distinction. The horrid murder of Miss

Macrae, on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the king's troops, and the massacre in cold blood of the prisoners taken in an engagement near Fort Stanwix, were particularly instanced as proofs of the absolute impracticability of restraining the barbarities of these savages." After a long debate Mr. Burke's motion was negatived by a majority of 137.

Various other motions made by Lord Barré, and Mr. Burke, in support of enquiry, being also rejected, the notice that he had digested a plan, which he meant shortly to lay before the House. Accordingly, on the 17th of October 1778, Lord North moved for leave to "1. A bill for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the people of Great Britain in any of the colonies or plantations in North America; and 2. To enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and enquire upon the means of quieting the disorders subsisting in certain of the colonies in America."

His Lordship, in opening his plan, acknowledged, that he had always known that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue—that it was not his policy to tax them, but that he had found them taxed when he unfortunately

*These are the lines
of the North American
Addition*

fortunately came into administration—and that he could not possibly suspect the regulation he had introduced in relation to the tea-duty could have been productive of such fatal consequences. With respect to the coercive acts, his lordship said, they had appeared necessary to remedy the distempers of the time; he complained, that the events of war had turned out very differently from what he had a right to expect from the great and well-appointed force sent over, but to events and not expectations he must make his plan conform. His lordship said, that the appointment of five commissioners was in contemplation, who should be enabled to treat with the congress *as if it were a legal body*; or with any individuals in their present civil capacities, or military commands;—that they should have a power to order a suspension of arms, to suspend the operation of all laws, and to grant all sorts of pardons. A preliminary renunciation of independency would not be required of America, and a contribution in any shape from America was not to be insisted upon as a *fine qua non* of the treaty. These concessions his lordship declared to be founded on reason and propriety; and if the question was asked, why they had not been sooner proposed, he should reply, that the moment of victory, for which he had anxiously waited, seemed to him the only proper season

for offering terms of concession. But though the result of the war had proved unfavorable, he would no longer delay the desirable and necessary work of reconciliation."

Never, perhaps, was the inexpressible absurdity of the ministerial system more apparent than at the present moment. The powers now granted were obviously analogous to those with which it was the object of the motion made by the duke of Grafton, in the spring of 1776, to invest the former commissioners, lord and general Howe. Had that motion been adopted, the contest might unquestionably have been, with the utmost facility, amicably and honorably terminated; but the general aspect of affairs since that period was totally changed. From the declaration of independency which America had once made, she could never be expected to recede. The strength of Great Britain had been tried, and found unequal to the contest. The measures adopted by the English government, particularly in the employment of German mercenaries and Indian savages, had inflamed the resentment of America to the highest pitch. Her recent successes had rendered it to the last degree improbable that she would ever again consent to recognise, in any shape, or under any modification, the authority of Britain. A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was all that a just and sound policy,

policy, in the present circumstances, could hope; or would endeavour to accomplish.

The propositions of the minister were received by the house without any symptoms of applause. On the contrary, they were assailed by objections from all quarters. The high prerogative party lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon the government of this country. They insisted that our resources were great and inexhaustible; and they bitterly deplored that pusillanimity in our councils, which, after so great an expence of blood and treasure, could submit, not only to give up all the objects of the contest, but to enter into a public treaty with *armed rebels*, which, after all, would not produce the end proposed.

The opposition, usually so called, expressed their reluctant agreement in the probable truth of this prediction. The chances, in point of calculation, were infinitely against the success of the measure; but still there was a chance—and they would not, in any manner, impede or delay the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. They were not, however, the less severe upon the defence set up by the minister.

Mr. Fox asserted, "that his lordship had attempted a justification of the most unjustifiable measures which had ever disgraced any government or ruined any country. But his arguments might be collected into one point, his excuses

comprised in one apology—in one single word—**IGNORANCE**: a palpable and total ignorance of every part of the subject. He hoped, and he was disappointed—he expected a great deal, and found little to answer his expectations—he thought America would have submitted to his laws, and they had resisted them—he thought they would have submitted to his armies, and they had defeated them—he made conciliatory propositions, and he thought they would succeed, but they were rejected—he appointed commissioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers; but he found they could not make peace, and that they had not sufficient powers. Had the present concessions been offered in time, Mr. Fox said, they would undoubtedly have been successful; for, however obscure his former propositions of conciliation might be deemed, **NECESSITY** had at length compelled the noble lord to speak plain. But what censure would be found sufficient, he asked, on those ministers who had adjourned parliament, in order to make a proposition of conciliation, and then neglected to do it until France had concluded a treaty with the United and Independent States of America, and acknowledged them as such? He did not speak from surmise, he said, he had it from authority he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been signed in Paris ten days before; he therefore wished

wished that the noble lord would give the house satisfaction on that interesting point." The minister, being closely pressed, at length reluctantly acknowledged, "that it was but too probable such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded:" and it was animadverted upon as a very extraordinary circumstance, that the intelligence of a private member of that house should be sooner received, and more authentically ascertained, than that of the government. The conciliatory bills were carried through both houses early in March.

On the second reading of the bills in the house of peers, the duke of Grafton informed their lordships, that he had, what he conceived to be, indubitable intelligence, that a treaty had been actually signed between France and America: and his grace demanded from the ministers a public avowal or disavowal of this important fact. To which lord Weymouth, secretary of state, replied, "that he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor had received any authentic information of its being either in existence or contemplation." Nevertheless, within a very few days after this extraordinary declaration, lord North delivered a royal message to the house of commons, and lord Weymouth to the house of peers, in which the king informed the two
houses,

houses, " that a rescript had been delivered by the ambassador of his Most Christian majesty, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America; in consequence of which offensive communication on the part of the court of France, his majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court; and, relying on the zealous support of his people, he is prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdoms, to repel so unprovoked and unjust an aggression." Addresses were voted by both houses, containing the strongest assurances of assistance and support. An amendment moved by Mr. Baker, containing a severe reflection on the conduct of the minister, was previously rejected in the house of commons by 263 voices against 113.

A similar amendment was moved in the upper house by the duke of Manchester, which gave rise to a debate, chiefly interesting as it brought into full view a very important difference of opinion subsisting between the lords in opposition, and which had on various occasions more covertly appeared, respecting the recognition of American independence. The marquis of Rockingham, and the whole Rockingham connection, maintained without reserve the necessity of admitting the independence of America. " To attempt
impossi-

impossibilities," said they, "can only render our ruin inevitable; it is not now in our power to recover what we have wantonly thrown away." On the other hand, the earls of Chatham, Temple, and Shelburne, and several other lords, who had unhappily established a distinct connection, and were, throughout the long course of opposition to the present ministry, considered as a separate party, disclaimed every idea of relinquishing America, and deprecated its independence as the greatest of all political and national evils; and as including the utter degradation and final ruin of this country. The numbers on the division were, 100 lords who voted against the amendment, to 36 who supported it.

On the 7th of April, the duke of Richmond, at the close of the grand committee of enquiry, in which the upper house as well as that of the commons had been during the greater part of the session deeply engaged, moved an address to the king on the state of the nation. In his speech in support of this address, his grace declared in strong terms his conviction of the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. "The mischief," he said, "whatever might be the magnitude of it, was already done; America was already lost; her independence was as firmly established as that of other states. We had sufficient cause for regret, but our lamentation

tion on the subject was of no more avail than it would be for the loss of Normandy or France." The earl of Chatham, in full expectation that this point would come under discussion this day, resolved, however enfeebled and afflicted by his corporeal infirmities, to make his personal appearance in the house, in order to bear his decided testimony against it. The mind feels interested in the minutest circumstances relating to the last day of the public life of this renowned statesman and patriot. He was dressed in a rich suit of black velvet, with a full wig, and covered up to the knees in flannel. On his arrival in the house, he refreshed himself in the lord chancellor's room, where he staid till prayers were over, and till he was informed that business was going to begin. He was then led into the house by his son and son-in-law, Mr. William Pitt and lord viscount Mahon, all the lords standing up out of respect, and making a lane for him to pass to the earls' bench, he bowing very gracefully to them as he proceeded. He looked pale and much emaciated, but his eye retained all its native fire; which, joined to his general deportment, and the attention of the house, formed a spectacle very striking and impressive.

When the duke of Richmond had sat down, lord Chatham rose, and began by lamenting "that his bodily infirmities had so long and at
so

so important a crisis prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament. He declared, that he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution, to come down to the house on this day, perhaps the LAST time he should ever be able to enter its walls, to express the indignation he felt at the idea which he understood was gone forth of yielding up the sovereignty of America. My lords," continued he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this antient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I never will consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? It is impossible. I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—Any state, my lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort—and, if we must fall, let us fall like men."

The duke of Richmond, in reply, declared himself

himself to be "totally ignorant of the means by which we were to resist with success the combination of America with the house of Bourbon. He urged the noble lord to point out any possible mode, if he were able to do it, of making the Americans renounce that independence of which they were in possession. His grace added, that if HE could not, no man could ; and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble lord's authority, unsupported by any reasons, but a recital of the calamities arising from a state of things not in the power of this country now to alter."

Lord Chatham, who had appeared greatly moved during the reply, made an eager effort to rise at the conclusion of it, as if laboring with some great idea, and impatient to give full scope to his feelings ; but, before he could utter a word, pressing his hand on his bosom, he fell down suddenly in a convulsive fit. The duke of Cumberland, lord Temple, and other lords near him, caught him in their arms. The house was immediately cleared ; and his lordship being carried into an adjoining apartment, the debate was adjourned. Medical assistance being obtained, his lordship in some degree recovered, and was conveyed to his favorite villa of Hayes in Kent, where, after lingering some few weeks, he

he expired May 11th, 1778, in the 70th year of his age*.

On the first intelligence of his death, colonel Barré repaired to the house of commons, then sitting, and communicated the melancholy information. Although it was an event which had been for some time daily expected, the house seemed affected with the deepest sensibility, and sorrow was apparent in every countenance. The recollection of his former pre-eminence in power, of his unrivalled eloquence, of his unwearied exertions in the public service, and of the unexampled prosperity to which Great Britain

* The following account is extracted from a letter written on this occasion by lord Camden to a nobleman of the highest rank, with whom, notwithstanding their temporary differences in politics, he had ever maintained an inviolable friendship. "I saw him in the prince's chamber, before he went into the house, and conversed a little with him: but such was the feeble state of his body, and indeed the disordered agitation of his mind, that I did forbode his strength would certainly fail him before he had finished his speech. The earl spoke, but was not like himself. His speech faultered, his sentences broken, and his mind not master of itself. His words were shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire that he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from heaven, and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken. He fell back upon his seat, and was to all appearance in the pangs of death. This threw the whole house into confusion. Many crowded about the earl. Even those who might have felt a secret pleasure in the accident yet put on the appearance of distress—except only the earl of Mansfield, who sat still, almost as much unmoved as the senseless body itself."

had

had attained under his administration, rushed upon the mind with irresistible force, and produced an emotion which the sympathy so powerful in popular assemblies heightened to enthusiasm. The motion made by colonel Barré, "that the remains of the earl of Chatham be interred at the public expence," was unanimously adopted; with the farther addition, "that a monument be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster." This was followed by a motion from lord John Cavendish, for an address to the king, "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to make a permanent provision for the family of the late WILLIAM PITT, earl of CHATHAM, in consideration of the services performed by that able statesman;" and in the sequel, a bill was brought into parliament, and unanimously passed, by which a clear annuity of 4000*l.* per annum, payable out of the civil list, is for ever to be annexed to the earldom of Chatham, and the sum of 20,000*l.* voted for the discharge of debts and incumbrances. Thus nobly and gratefully did the nation reward the services of the man whose counsels, to the amazement of the world, she had for so many years neglected and contemned. The ready concurrence of the court in the honors lavished on the memory of this great statesman may be ascribed entirely to the decided manner in which he

he delivered, almost in his last breath, his sentiments against the recognition of American independence, and which may be regarded as the sole political error with which, in respect to America, he is chargeable. What his precise ideas were, with regard to the plan of conciliation proper to be adopted in the actual circumstances of the nation, cannot be ascertained; but of this we may rest assured, from the uniform and systematic tenor of his policy, that he never would have employed coercive means in accomplishing it. When he found, and had he been restored to the plenitude of power he certainly would have found, America determined to maintain her independence, he must doubtless have discovered, and could not but have submitted to, the necessity of recognizing it. It is exceedingly to be lamented, that personal and party considerations prevented that firm and cordial coalescence amongst the Whigs in opposition to the court, which was so necessary to give efficacy to their exertions. The dislike of lord Chatham to the Newcastle or Rockingham party was invincible; and the divisions and animosities which originated in that dislike, and which his death was far from extinguishing, have at length terminated in what may be considered as the almost total ruin of the Whig interest, and the final and complete triumph of the Tories; at least till the calamities, which have

never yet failed to result from a Tory system of government in this country, shall again awaken the dormant spirit of Whiggism in the nation, and consign the absurd, pernicious, and detestable maxims of Tory government to public contempt and execration. But when a just allowance is made, and just allowance must be made for those imperfections from which no human character is exempt, lord Chatham will unquestionably rank as one of the greatest, most enlightened, and beneficent statesmen that ever adorned the annals of any age or country.

The distresses in which the kingdom of Ireland was involved in consequence of the war, and the general and loud complaints of the bulk of its inhabitants, made it absolutely necessary to attempt something farther for its relief; and in a committee of the whole house it was resolved,

I. That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations or settlements all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of that kingdom, or of Great Britain, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted; as also foreign certificate goods legally imported.

II. That a direct importation be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of the British plantations, tobacco only excepted.

III. That

III. That the direct exportation of glass manufactured in Ireland be permitted to all places except Great Britain.

IV. That the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed, duty free, into Great Britain; as also,

V. The importation of sail-cloth and cordage.

These resolutions excited a very great and general alarm amongst the commercial part of the British nation, who seemed to consider the admission of Ireland to any participation in trade as equally destructive to their property, and subversive of their rights.

After the recess, very many instructions and petitions were presented to the house in opposition to them: and it deserves mention, as a striking instance of commercial folly and prejudice, that, in several of the petitions, the importation of Irish sail-cloth and of wrought iron is particularly specified as ruinous to the same manufactures in England; though it was by this time discovered, that, by a positive law of long standing, Ireland was in actual possession of those very privileges, although the Irish were so far from being able to prosecute these manufactures to any purpose of competition with the British, that great quantities of both were annually exported to that country from England. An almost equally great and equally groundless

alarm had been taken at the bill passed a few years since for the free importation of woollen yarn into England; which was by experience found and acknowledged to be not merely innocuous, but beneficial; yet such influence had the apprehensions of the public upon the disposition of the house, that the bills founded on the resolutions actually passed were ultimately dismissed, and some trivial points only conceded, not meriting a distinct specification.

Late in the session, sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties imposed by an act passed in the 10th of king WILLIAM, entitled An Act for preventing the farther Growth of Popery; which penalties the mover stated to be, the punishment of Popish priests, or Jesuits, as guilty of felony, who should be found to officiate in the services of their church; the forfeiture of estate to the next Protestant heir, in case of the education of the Romish possessor abroad; the power given to the son, or other nearest relation, being a Protestant, to take possession of the father's estate during the life-time of the proprietor; and the depriving Papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase. In proposing the repeal of these penalties, sir George Saville said, "that he meant to vindicate the honor and assert the principles of the Protestant religion,

to

to which all persecution was foreign and adverse. The penalties in question were disgraceful, not only to religion, but to humanity. They were calculated to loosen all the bands of society, to dissolve all social, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poison the sources of domestic felicity, and to annihilate every principle of honor." The motion was received, to the infinite credit of the house, with such high and marked approbation, that the bill founded upon it passed without a single negative, and soon afterwards acquired, by the cordial concurrence of the peers and the monarch, the force of a law.

About this time general Burgoyne returned to England, being released on his parole by congress; but he met, probably to his surprise, with a very cold and indifferent reception from the ministers, and, in a manner which clearly indicated his disgrace, was refused admission to the royal presence. The general, highly resenting this treatment, avenged himself by loud complaints in the house of commons of the misconduct of ministers, describing them as totally incompetent to sustain the weight of public affairs in the present critical and dangerous emergency. This mode of retaliation, however, contributed little to raise his character in the estimation of the public, who clearly discerned the real causes

of his defection from the court, who were not ignorant that the plan of the Canada expedition had his entire previous approbation, and that, in the execution of it, his valor was much more conspicuous than his judgment or discretion. In the sequel, he was ordered to re-join his troops in America, whom, on various frivolous pretences, the congress refused to release till the convention of Saratoga was formally ratified by the court of Great Britain. With this injunction, though coming from the highest authority, the general refusing to comply, he was divested of all the posts and offices which he held under the government.

This session is distinguished above all others for a multiplicity of motions in both houses, by different members, chiefly of the opposition, on various subjects of political concern, which gave rise to long and tedious debates; and which, being successively negatived by the influence of the court, it is fruitless to particularize. The most remarkable of these was a resolution moved by Mr. Gilbert, in the committee of supply, March 2, that a tax of five shillings in the pound be laid on pensions and salaries issuing out of the Exchequer during the continuance of the war; which was carried by 100 to 82 voices, but, on the report, rejected by 147 to 141. A bill for the exclusion of contractors from the house of commons
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was also lost by a majority of two voices only; on the motion of commitment, the numbers on the division being 115 to 113. Upon the whole, it appeared that the minority gained strength, and a dawn of hope arose that the reign of the present ministry might not be immortal.

On the 3d of June, 1778, the parliament was prorogued, and thanks were returned by the king, in his speech, "for the zeal shewn by parliament in supporting the honor of the crown, and their attention to the real interests of the nation, manifested in the wise, just, and humane laws which had been the result of their deliberations."

At the eve of a war with France, and a war with Spain in no very distant prospect, two different lines of conduct now obviously presented themselves. Either, 1st, to withdraw our fleets and armies from America, and to direct the whole force of the empire against the house of Bourbon, in the hope of success so decisive as to enable us in the result to conclude an advantageous accommodation with America, conformably to the general ideas of lord Chatham; or, 2dly, which would have been infinitely the wiser, though the less splendid and attractive plan, unreservedly to recognize the independency of America, which would have opened the way, without difficulty, to an immediate and general pacification. But

the present ministers, in the same spirit of folly and phrensy which had invariably marked their conduct, determined to adhere to their former project of conquering America; contenting themselves with opposing such part of the general force of the empire as could be spared for this secondary and inferior purpose; to the whole undivided strength of the house of Bourbon. "The king of England," says the celebrated monarch of Prussia, speaking of the state of affairs of Great Britain at this period, "who still acted upon the system of Bute, combated with inflexible obstinacy the obstacles which on all sides presented themselves. Insensible to the miseries and misfortunes of his people, he only became, in consequence of the resistance he met with, the more eager for the accomplishment of his projects."

In the beginning of June, 1778, the new commissioners, lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Johnstone, formerly governor of Florida, arrived at Philadelphia, more than a month after the ratifications of the treaty between France and America had been formally exchanged. The reception they met with was such as men the most opposite in their politics had foreseen and foretold. Dr. Ferguson, secretary to the commission, was refused a passport to congress, and they were compelled to forward their papers by the common means. The commissioners, at the
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very outset, made concessions far greater than the Americans, in their several petitions to the king, had requested or desired—greater indeed than the powers conferred upon them by the act seemed to authorize. Amongst the most remarkable of these was the engagement “ to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of America, without the consent of the general congress, or of the several assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of representatives from the several states, who should have a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain—to establish a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.”

These papers, when laid before the congress, were read with astonishment and regret; but from the declaration of INDEPENDENCE they had neither the will nor the power to recede. An answer therefore, brief but conclusive, was returned by the president Henry Laurens, declaring, “ that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so
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disrespectful to his Most Christian majesty their ally, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honor of an independent nation. The commission, under which they act, supposes the people of America to be still subjects of the crown of Great Britain, which is an idea utterly inadmissible." The president added, "that he is directed to inform their excellencies of the inclination of congress to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; and the only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

The commissioners, finding the door of negotiation shut against them, published very unwarrantable appeals to the people at large, calculated to excite discord among the several colonies, or seditious tumults against the established governments. These producing no manner of effect, they promulgated a most signal valedictory manifesto, containing a dark and mysterious menace, warning the people of America of the total and
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material change which was to take place in the future conduct of the war, should they still persevere in their OBSTINACY.

The congress, who had taken little notice of their former addresses, were now provoked to publish a counter-manifesto, in which they say, "If our enemies presume to execute their threats, we will take such EXEMPLARY VENGEANCE as shall deter others from a like conduct." The commissioners now returned to England, after having executed their *conciliatory commission*, in a mode which left America in a far worse state of irritation and inflammability than they found it*. The earl of Carlisle had brought with him an order, little calculated to add weight to his mission, for the immediate evacuation of the city of Philadelphia, and the retreat

* Governor Johnstone had very early fallen into extreme disgrace by an indirect attempt to bribe some of the leading members of the congress; which assembly thereupon passed a formal resolution, that they would have no farther intercourse with him in his public capacity, and his name was accordingly omitted in the papers subsequently addressed by the commissioners to the congress. This ridiculous and ineffectual overture was made through the medium of a Mrs. Ferguson, who was suspected not to have been endowed with all that SECRECY requisite to the discharge of so delicate an office. Governor Johnstone, who, on his first arrival in America, had complimented the congress in high-flown and extravagant terms, on this mortifying exposure changed his language to the lowest abuse. The fact, however, was clearly ascer-

retreat of the army to New York. This was a measure, however mortifying, which was rendered very necessary by the departure of a strong squadron from the port of Toulon in the month of April, which was supposed to be destined for the Delawar, and which the naval force under lord Howe was in no condition to oppose.

On the 18th of June the whole British army passed the Delawar. Some weeks previous to this event, general Howe had resigned the command to sir Henry Clinton. Though uniformly *in a certain degree* successful in his enterprises, this officer acquired little accession of military reputation in America. Brave as a soldier, but, in the capacity of general, slow, cautious, and indecisive, he deviated into an extreme the opposite of general Burgoyne, who was censured as rash, presumptuous, and romantic. The character civil and military of sir William Howe has been drawn with uncommon force and happiness by the pen of general Lee. He sums up all, by pronouncing him "naturally good humoured,

ascertained; and the governor, in his ludicrous distress, might be allowed to exclaim, in the words of SHAKESPEARE,

"Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women!"

Mr. Jos. Reed, to whom an offer of 10,000*l.* had been made, in order to secure his *good offices*, nobly replied, "that he was not worth purchasing; but, such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it."

complaisant,

complaisant, but illiterate and indolent to the last degree ; unless as an executive soldier, in which capacity he is all fire and activity—brave and cool as Julius Cæsar. His understanding is rather good than otherwise ; but, totally confounded and stupefied with the immensity of the task imposed upon him, he shut his eyes, fought his battles, advised with his counsellors, received his orders from North and Germaine, each more absurd than the former—shut his eyes, fought again, and is now to be called to account for acting according to instructions.” Considering that the military exploits performed by sir William Howe were not quite equal to those recorded of Don Bellianis, or Sir Lancelot of the Lake, it cannot but be matter of surprise to find his departure from America celebrated by a triumphal festival, resembling some Paladin entertainment in necromantic bower or hall. All the colours of the army were placed in a grand avenue 300 feet in length, lined with the king’s troops, between two triumphal arches, for the general to march along in pompous procession, followed by a numerous train of attendants, with seven filken knights of the blended rose, and seven more of the burning mountain, and fourteen damsels dressed in the Turkish fashion, to a spacious area, where a magnificent tournament in the style of antient chivalry was exhibited in ho-

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nor of the hero. On the top of each triumphal arch was a figure of Fame, bespangled with stars, blowing from her trumpet in letters of light, "Tes lauriers font immortels !"

The march of the British army through the Jerseys was not unattended with difficulty. Encumbered with an enormous train of baggage, extending the length of twelve miles, the whole country hostile, the bridges broken down before, and a vigilant enemy pressing close behind, the utmost prudence and circumspection of the new general were necessary to make a vigorous and effectual defence against those attacks to which a retreating army is so peculiarly exposed. Instead of proceeding in a direct route to Brunswick, the general determined, by bending his march to the right, and approaching the sea-coast, at once to disappoint the expectation of the enemy, and to avoid the difficulty attending the passage of the Rariton.

On the evening of the 27th of June the royal army encamped in the vicinity of Monmouth Court-house, and early the next morning they re-commenced their march. Scarcely were they in motion when the enemy were discovered moving in force at some distance on both flanks. The first division under general Knyphausen proceeding with the escort of carriages to the heights of Middletown, the English commander immediately

ately formed his troops, with a view to bring on a general engagement. General Lee, who had been some time since exchanged, advanced with the van of the American army to the attack, in conformity to the directions of general Washington ; but several of the brigades under his command being thrown into confusion by an impetuous assault of the British cavalry, he ordered a retreat, with a view to form anew in an advantageous position behind a ravine and morass. In the interim general Washington arrived at the head of the main army, and expressed in strong terms his astonishment and indignation at the retrograde motion of the van. General Lee replied with equal warmth ; but in the result the troops of the van were ordered to form in front of the morass, where an obstinate engagement ensued, till, the Americans being again worsted and broken, general Lee was again under the necessity of ordering a retreat, which he conducted with great skill and courage, himself being one of the last who remained on the field. The British light-infantry and rangers, in the meantime, who had filed off to the left, and attempted an assault on the American main body, where general Washington commanded in person, met with such a reception as compelled them, after repeated efforts, to desist from the attack ; and the day being intensely hot, the action, in which the

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the two armies appear to have sustained nearly equal loss, ceased from mere weariness and fatigue. At midnight sir Henry renewed his march in profound silence, and on the 30th of June arrived in safety at Sandy Hook, from whence he passed over to New York without farther molestation.

The high spirit of general Lee could not, however, brook the language which general Washington had hastily used, and he wrote him in consequence a passionate letter, which occasioned his being put under immediate arrest; and a court-martial being held upon him for disobedience of orders, misbehaviour in action, and disrespect to his commander, he was found guilty upon every charge, and suspended from all his military commands for twelve months. It was suspected that the commander in chief was not displeased at the dismissal of a man so haughty and impracticable; nor did the army, in whose estimation he had been visibly lessened since the disaster which had befallen him, appear much to regret his loss. For though the capture of general Lee was merely fortuitous, misfortune is in the minds of men nearly allied to disgrace, disgrace produces contempt, and contempt verges towards alienation and hatred.

No sooner had sir Henry Clinton and the army evacuated Philadelphia, than lord Howe prepared
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to sail with the fleet to New York. Repeated calms retarded his passage down the Delaware, so that he could not clear the Cape till the evening of the 28th of June: and on the 29th his lordship reached Sandy Hook, whence he convoyed the army to New York. In a few days after the departure of lord Howe, count d'Estaing arrived off the coast, and anchored in the night of the 8th of July at the mouth of the Delaware; so that lord Howe narrowly escaped a surprise, which would probably have been attended with very fatal consequences.

On the 11th the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, appeared off Sandy Hook, to which lord Howe could oppose only eleven ships of very inferior magnitude and weight of metal. These were ranged with great skill and judgment in the harbour, in full expectation of an attack from the French fleet, which seemed resolutely bent upon the attempt. But the American pilots on board declared it impossible for the large ships of D'Estaing's squadron to pass the bar;—so that after eleven days tarrance he failed to Rhode Island, in order to co-operate with general Sullivan in an enterprize against Newport.

The approach of the French fleet created the unpleasant necessity of burning the *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno*, and *Cerberus* frigates; and of sink-

ing the *Flora* and *Falcon*. The commander of the garrison, sir Robert Pigot, made every preparation for a vigorous defence ; and lord Howe, being at length reinforced by several ships from England—part of a squadron commanded by admiral Byron, tardily dispatched after the *Tou-lon* fleet—immediately stood out to sea, though still inferior in force, in order to give battle to the French admiral, who seemed not unwilling to accept the challenge. After much manœuvring for the weather-gage, the fleets were separated by a violent tempest, by which the great ships of the French squadron were so much damaged that it was deemed by count d'Estaing absolutely necessary to steer for the port of Boston to refit. General Sullivan was in consequence compelled with chagrin and reluctance to withdraw his troops from Rhode Island.

After the storm, or rather during the storm, when the fury of it had in some degree subsided, the *Renown* of fifty guns, captain Dawson, fell in with the *Languedoc* of ninety guns, D'Estaing's own ship, which had lost both her rudder and her masts, whom he engaged with such advantage as to flatter him with the prospect of an immediate capture, when the appearance of several other ships of the squadron compelled him to desist. Captain Raynor in the *Isis*, and captain Hotham in the *Preston*, both of fifty guns, fought with
great

great gallantry the *Zélé* of seventy-four, and the *Tonnant* of eighty—but no ship on either side struck her colors. Lord Howe, with all possible expedition, followed his antagonist to Boston, in the hope of a favorable opportunity of attack; but found the French fleet lying in Nantasket Road, so well defended by the forts and batteries erected on the points of land and the islands adjacent, that it was adjudged absolutely impracticable. Soon after this (October 1778) lord Howe quitted the command to admiral Gambier, having acquired in the course of the campaign much reputation by his skilful and vigorous exertions in a situation peculiarly critical and hazardous.

The projects of count d'Estaing being effectually disconcerted in America, he sailed in the beginning of November to the West Indies, in order to second the operations of the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, who had already captured the important island of Dominique, to which he granted terms so favorable that the inhabitants had little reason to regret the change of masters. On the very same day that the French fleet left Boston, a detachment of five thousand troops, under convoy of a small squadron commanded by commodore Hotham, sailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived, fortunately without encountering the enemy in their course,

at Barbadoes, December 10 (1778). Without suffering the troops to disembark, an expedition was immediately resolved upon against the island of St. Lucia, where on the 13th a landing was effected. By the active exertions of general Meadows and admiral Barrington, upon whom the command had now devolved, several of the advanced posts were carried, when count d'Estaing appeared in view with a far superior force, having on board a large body of troops, with which he hoped to effect the entire reduction of the English islands. The squadron of admiral Barrington consisted only of three ships of the line, two of fifty guns, and three frigates, which he stationed across the entrance of the Careenage, supported by several batteries erected on shore. On the morning of the 15th of December the French admiral bore down with ten sail of the line, but met with so gallant a reception that he thought proper in a short time to draw off. In the afternoon he renewed the attack with his whole squadron, and a furious cannonade, directed chiefly against admiral Barrington's division, was kept up for several hours, without making any impression upon the English line; and the French admiral was again obliged to desist from his attack. He now landed a body of five thousand troops, and, putting himself at their head, marched with great resolution to the assault

assault of the British lines: but they were received by general Meadows with the same determined valour as they had before experienced from admiral Barrington; and being repulsed with great loss, the count re-embarked his troops, and left the island to its fate. It soon after surrendered to the British arms on honorable terms of capitulation, and this conquest was considered as much more than an equivalent for the loss of Dominique.

On the continent of America the war still raged with dreadful and unremitted malignity. In consequence of the horrid mode of warfare adopted by the court of Great Britain, which in the midst of pleasure and festivity issued its orders to desolate and destroy *, an expedition was undertaken by a colonel Butler, in conjunction with one Brandt, an half Indian by birth, and a man beyond example cruel and ferocious, against the beautiful and flourishing settlement of Wyoming.

* When we consider the round of amusement and dissipation in which the English court was engaged at a crisis so full of horror—the St. James's balls, the Windfor galas, the Buckingham-House concerts, suppers and card parties, it brings to recollection the retort of a brave French officer, who, being asked by his sovereign Charles VII. then in danger of dethronement by the English, what he thought of his arrangements for an approaching *fête*, replied, "I think, sire, that it is impossible for any one to lose his kingdom more pleasantly than your majesty."

This was an infant rising colony, situated on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, consisting of eight townships, in a country and climate luxuriantly fertile.

In the month of July, 1778, the enemy appeared in force to the number of about sixteen hundred men, of whom about one-fourth were Indians, and immediately invested the fort. The commandant knowing its inability to make any effectual defence, dispatched a flag to colonel Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a surrender; to which he replied in two words, *THE HATCHET*. The garrison, though resolute to sell their lives as dear as possible, were soon overpowered; and the savage conquerors, after gratifying their infernal rage by a most bloody military execution, shut up the remainder in the barracks, to which they set fire, and consumed the whole in one general blaze. The entire settlement was now delivered up to all the horrors of Indian barbarity, of which the detail is not to be endured. A terrestrial paradise was in a short time converted into a frightful waste; and men, women, and children, underwent one common butchery, in all the possible varieties of torture. A provincial officer, of the name of Bedlock, being stripped naked, had his body stuck full of sharp pine splinters; and a heap of knots of the same wood being then
piled

piled around him, the whole was set on fire—two other officers also, captains Ransey and Durgie, being thrown alive into the flames. Such are the accursed consequences of that princely ambition which is exalted so high above the level of common life as to admit of no sympathy with human misery. Feeling deeply for the honor of Britain, a veil has been perhaps too partially cast over the enormities committed by the Indians employed in the northern expedition, and in other parts of the continent. There are indeed degrees of human depravity and wickedness creative of sensations which no tongue can express, and no language impart *.

To descend to what must be regarded as an authorized and civilized mode of warfare, it is necessary to mention that major-general Grey, an officer who had repeatedly distinguished himself by his military skill and courage, was detached in the month of September from New York on an expedition to a place called Fair-

* " They ~~err~~ who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to over-run
Large countries—deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wherefoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy —
Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods."

MILTON.

Haven,

Haven, on the coast of New-England, where he destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, together with the magazines, wharfs, stores, &c.; and proceeding to Martha's Vineyard, a beautiful island in the vicinity, he carried off an immense booty in oxen and sheep, which afforded a welcome supply to the army at New York.

In a short time after this, the same officer, acting under the direction of lord Cornwallis, surprised in the night, asleep and naked, a regiment of American light-horse, stationed near the right bank of the North River. Quarter being refused, and the men wholly incapable of resistance, a terrible execution took place, which the congress in a subsequent remonstrance scrupled not to stigmatize as "a massacre in cold blood." A similar enterprize was undertaken with similar success by captain Ferguson, against a detached corps of Pulawski's legion of light-infantry; and the Americans were not a little embarrassed to conjecture what those worse extremes of war could be, which the manifesto of the commissioners menaced them with in the future conduct of it.

An undertaking of greater importance was now determined upon by sir Henry Clinton, who detached a considerable body of troops under the command of colonel Campbell, convoyed by a squadron under sir Hyde Parker, to attempt
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the recovery of the province of Georgia—general Prevost, governor of East Florida, having at the same time orders to co-operate with them. On the 23d of December, 1778, the whole armament arrived at the mouth of the Savannah. The force which that weak and infant colony was able to oppose to the invaders was soon dispersed, and the town of Savannah fell of course into the hands of the victors. General Prevost soon after arriving with a large reinforcement, took upon him the command of the whole.

From this sketch of the campaign of 1778 in America, it is now expedient to advert to the situation of affairs in Europe. When a war with France appeared inevitable, admiral Keppel, an officer of distinguished merit and reputation, but wholly unconnected with the present ministers, was, on the personal and urgent solicitation of the king, prevailed on to accept the command of the Channel fleet, though, as he himself observed, "his forty years' services were not marked by any favor from the crown, except that of its confidence in the time of danger." The admiral, at parting, might with propriety have said to his sovereign, as marechal Villars to Louis XIV. "I go to fight your majesty's enemies, and leave mine in your closet."

On the 13th of June the admiral sailed from
St.

St. Helen's with twenty ships of the line, and at the entrance of the Bay of Biscay he fell in with the *Licorne* and the *Belle Poule*, two French frigates. Through that feebleness and indecision of counsels which prevailed at this period in the British cabinet, the admiral had no positive orders as to the commission or avoidance of actual hostilities, but was invested with an unmeaning and, as to himself, dangerous discretion of acting according to circumstances. Perceiving the frigates intent on taking an accurate survey of his fleet, he thought it expedient to fire a gun in order to compel them to bring to; and on their refusal to obey the signal, a chase ensued, when the *Licorne*, after wantonly discharging a whole broadside, struck to the *America* of seventy-four guns. The *Belle Poule*, after a warm engagement with the *Arethusa*, escaped by running on shore. The *Pallas* also, another French frigate, was in the mean time captured and detained. From the papers found on board these frigates, the admiral discovered to his inexpressible astonishment that the French fleet lying in Brest water amounted to no less than thirty-two sail of the line: he was therefore under the immediate necessity of returning to port for a reinforcement; and, on transmitting accounts of his proceedings to government, he received no intimation of approbation or disapprobation.

On

On the 9th of July, however, he was enabled again to sail with twenty-four ships, and was soon afterwards joined by six more. In a few days he came in sight of the French fleet off Ushant, commanded by M. d'Orvilliers, who seemed, on perceiving the English fleet nearly equal in force, inclined to avoid an engagement; but the wind changing some points in favor of the English, they gained so much upon the enemy that an engagement became inevitable, and the French ranging in order of battle, but on the opposite tack, the fleets passed each other about noon in a diagonal direction. The action, though very warm, was consequently partial; but the English admiral having in a short time sufficiently repaired his damages, made the proper signals for the van and rear divisions to take their respective stations. This order was instantly obeyed by sir Robert Harland, of the van; but admiral sir Hugh Palliser, of the rear or blue division, who had fallen a great way to leeward, took no notice whatever of the signals. Admiral Keppel, after waiting perhaps too long, sent the Fox frigate at five o'clock with peremptory directions to sir Hugh Palliser, to bear down into his wake in order to renew the engagement. Sir Hugh answered, "that he was *knotting and splicing*, but would obey the order as soon as possible."

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At six o'clock the commander threw out another signal for ALL SHIPS to come into their stations; and at seven o'clock, wearied with expectation, he threw out a third signal, for each particular ship of the blue division to come into her station in the line—but all to no purpose, and the day finally closed before sir Hugh Palliser rejoined his commander. In the night the French made sail for their own coast, and in the morning scarcely were the rearmost ships discernible from the topmast heads of the English fleet. Admiral Keppel therefore returned to Portsmouth to refit; but his public letter, containing an account of this transaction, occasioned great speculation—his desire to screen the misconduct of the admiral of the blue inducing him to give such a relation of this engagement as seemed to imply great impropriety of behaviour in the commander himself: for no reason whatever was assigned for not renewing the engagement in the afternoon, except the expectation of the admiral, “that the French would fight it out handsomely the next day.”

It was impossible that the truth should not in some degree transpire; and a well-written letter appearing some time afterwards in the public prints, severely reflecting on the conduct of sir Hugh Palliser, that officer thought proper to require from the commander in chief a formal disavowal

avowal of the charges it contained, and a public justification of his character. This the commander absolutely and indignantly declining, the vice-admiral immediately exhibited articles of accusation, against admiral Keppel, for misconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th of July (1778), although he had in the month of October a second time sailed with admiral Keppel, and had never before this so much as whispered a word to his prejudice.

The lords of the Admiralty, to the astonishment of the nation, without the least hesitation, and even with apparent alacrity and satisfaction, fixed a day for the trial of the commander in chief; the result of which was in the highest degree honorable to that brave and injured officer, who was not only unanimously acquitted by the court-martial, but received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his services. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards demanded a court-martial upon himself, which terminated in a slight censure only; but the resentment of the public was so great that it was deemed expedient by the ministers to *accept* his successive resignations of his place at the board of Admiralty, his lieutenant-generalship of marines, his government of Scarborough Castle, and to *permit* him to vacate his seat in the house of commons.

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The acquittal of admiral Keppel was celebrated with illuminations and rejoicings in all parts of the kingdom; and the houses of lord Sandwich and sir Hugh Palliser were insulted by the populace, and the demolition of them with difficulty prevented.

The ready acquiescence of the board of Admiralty in the appointment of the court-martial, on a charge so grossly invidious and unjust, gave the highest disgust to the officers of the navy. A strong memorial was presented to his majesty on the subject by the duke of Bolton, signed by twelve admirals, with the venerable Hawke at their head, stating to his majesty, in strong colors, the ruinous consequences which the precedent now introduced would inevitably bring upon all naval service and discipline. "If," said these gallant defenders of their country, "we had conceived that this board had no legal use of their reason in a point of such delicacy and importance, we should have known on what terms we served; but we never did imagine it possible that we were to receive orders from, and be accountable to, those who by law were reduced to become mere passive instruments to the possible ignorance, malice, or treachery, of any individual who might think fit to disarm his majesty's navy of its best and highest officers. We

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conceive it to be disrespectful to the laws of our country, to suppose them capable of such manifest injustice and absurdity."

The only part of admiral Keppel's conduct really culpable appears to have proceeded from that excess of deference and respect for sir Hugh Palliser, which prevented his adopting those daring and decisive measures the occasion called for, in order to improve in the most effectual manner an opportunity of which he had little reason to expect the return. The courage of sir Hugh Palliser had been on many occasions too conspicuous to be questioned; but that principle of envy, so powerful in some minds, could not endure that a man whom he regarded in the light of a rival should acquire such an addition of fame and superiority as must have resulted from a complete and decided victory.

The session commenced on the 26th of November, 1778. The speech from the throne was loud in complaint of "the unexampled and unprovoked hostility of the court of France; and regret was expressed that the efforts which had been made for disappointing the malignant designs of the enemy had not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigorous exertions which had been made, seemed to promise." The addresses of both houses, in the usual style of duty and loyalty, were

were carried by great majorities. But in a short time the attention of parliament was attracted by a motion made by the marquis of Rockingham, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express the displeasure of the house at the manifesto issued under the seal of the American commissioners on the 3d day of October last; and to acquaint his majesty with the sense of this house, that the said commissioners had no authority whatsoever under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed, to make such declaration; and humbly beseeching that the said manifesto be publicly disavowed by his majesty." The noble mover, in the course of an able and excellent speech, addressed himself to the BISHOPS in a manner peculiarly striking. He observed that "the nature and principle of the war were entirely changed. The right reverend bench, relying on the assurances of ministers, might originally have believed its motives honorable, and its object easily attainable; but the same ministers now declared to all the world, that a totally new system of policy was adopted, America was relinquished, and a new species of war denounced, tending merely and avowedly to revenge, slaughter, and universal destruction. The simple votes of their lordships on this occasion would at once fully express their detestation of
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of the inhuman system in question, and, in conjunction with those of the temporal lords who entertained the same sentiments, would fully obviate its effects." After a vehement debate, in which the ministers endeavoured, by refinements of explanation, to palliate what no one dared explicitly to defend, the motion was negatived by a majority of 71 to 37 peers, 31 of whom joined in a protest of uncommon energy and ability. "The public law of nations," said their lordships, "in affirmance of the dictates of nature and the precepts of religion, forbids us to resort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, 'self-preservation,' perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws. Those objects of war which cannot be compassed by fair and honorable hostility ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means but such as are unlawful is an unlawful end." It is painful to remark, that the name of one bishop only, the venerable Shipley of St. Asaph, is to be found in the long and illustrious train of signatures affixed to this memorable protest; which, if it wanted any other recommendation to notice than its own intrinsic merit, might with pride recount the names of a Rockingham, a

Camden, an Effingham, a Harcourt, and many others, inferior neither in wisdom nor in virtue to any which this age or country could boast.

Some time after the Christmas recess, Mr. Fox moved a vote of censure upon lord Sandwich, for sending admiral Keppel, with twenty ships of the line only, to a station off the coast of France, thereby hazarding the safety of the kingdom, the Brest fleet consisting at that time of thirty-two ships of the line, besides a great superiority of frigates. Mr. Fox said, if the present motion was carried, he should follow it with another, for the removal of the first lord of the Admiralty. This nobleman had deservedly incurred the public resentment and odium by the countenance he had given to the late prosecution of admiral Keppel. Of this he now felt the effect; the motion of censure being negatived, in a very full house, by a majority of 34 voices only. Encouraged by the unaccustomed strength of the minority on this occasion, Mr. Fox in a few days moved, "That the state of the navy, at the breaking out of the present war, was inadequate to the exigencies of the service." This motion he enforced in a speech of singular ability. In the course of the debate, lord Howe declared his resolution to decline all future service, so long as the present ministers continued in office. A decisive experience had
taught

taught him, that besides risking his honor and professional character in such an attempt, he could not, under such councils, render any essential service to his country. The whole force of the ministry being exerted to parry this attack, the motion was at length rejected, by a majority of 246 to 174 voices.

The indulgence shewn in the last session to the Roman Catholics made the refusal of the claim of the Protestant Dissenters appear so extremely invidious on the part of the court, that it was judged improper longer to discourage the application for their relief; and on the motion of sir Henry Houghton, seconded by Mr. Frederic Montague, a bill for that purpose was brought in, and passed through both houses with very trivial opposition. The debate in the house of lords was, however, rendered memorable, by a very remarkable speech of Dr. Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, the friend and disciple of Hoadley, and on whom the mantle of that illustrious prelate seemed in an especial manner to have descended. His lordship expressed "his most cordial acquiescence in the repeal of those penal laws which had long been the disgrace of the national church: he objected only to the condition annexed to the repeal—the IMPOSITION of a confession of faith, however short and general and *true*—such as he hoped he should have the

virtue,

virtue, if called upon, to seal with his blood. But his lordship absolutely disclaimed, for himself, any authority civil or sacred to impose this creed upon other men. By such imposition the present bill, which professes to repeal all former penal laws, is converted into a penal law itself; for those who do not subscribe the declaration still remain liable to all the old penalties. The truth contained in the declaration, viz. 'That the Scriptures are the revealed will of God, and the rule of faith and practice,' was indeed acknowledged by every Protestant. But supposing the existence of any sect of Christians who should reject our canon of Scripture, who should build their faith on the basis of tradition, or on the supposed illuminations of the spirit, would you, my lords, persecute them for believing Christianity upon arguments that suit their own understandings? Such men would undoubtedly be in error, but error in religion is the very ground and subject of toleration. The evils resulting from this declaration are not however confined to possibilities. Many of the most eminent of the dissenting ministers—men highly deserving esteem for their science, their literature, their critical study of the Scriptures, for their excellent writings in defence of Christianity, as well as of the civil and religious rights of mankind,—men whom it would be no disparagement to this bench to acknowledge

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ledge as friends and brethren, engaged in the same honorable and arduous task of instructing the world in the ways of happiness:—such men as these, my lords, if the clause in question be enacted and carried into execution, will not even be tolerated. Declaring, as they have invariably done, against all human authority in matters of religion, and holding it as a first principle of Protestantism, that no church has a right to impose its own articles of faith upon others, they conceive that an acquiescence in this declaration would imply a recognition of that claim which they are bound as Christians and Protestants to resist. It is the duty of magistrates, it is indeed the very end of magistracy, to protect *all men* in the enjoyment of their natural rights, of which the free exercise of their religion is one of the first and best. All history, my lords, is full of the mischiefs occasioned by the want of toleration; but no one has ever yet pretended to shew that any public evils have been occasioned by toleration. At a meeting of the right reverend bench, where I had the honor to be present, it was asked, ‘Whether the clause in question was ever intended to be put in execution?’ It was answered, ‘No, there was no such intention.’ I asked then, and I ask now, ‘What was the use of making laws that were never to be executed?’ To make useless and insignificant

laws, is not to exercise authority, but to degrade it ; it is a vain, idle, and insolent parade of legislation : and yet, my lords, would to God the four last shameful and miserable years had been employed in making such laws as these ! this wretched country might still have been safe, and perhaps once more might have been happy. But, my lords, let us for a moment consider to whom this power of prescribing articles of faith is to be confided :—undoubtedly this holy deposit cannot fail to be lodged where we have placed every thing else that is great and good—the honor, the interest, the strength, and revenues of the nation—ALL are placed in the keeping of the MINISTRY. Perhaps, my lords, there might be ministers, to whose management none who have the least value for their religion would choose to confide it. One might naturally ask a minister for a good pension, or a good contract, or a place at court ; but hardly any one would think of making interest with them for a place in HEAVEN. What I now say applies only to future bad ministers, for of the present administration I most firmly believe that they are fully as capable of defining articles of faith as of directing the councils of the state. The ruling party is always very liberal in bestowing the title of schismatic and heretic on those who differ from them in religion, and in representing them

as dangerous to the state. My lords, the contrary is the truth. Those who are uppermost, and have the power, are the men who do the mischief, while the schismatics only suffer and complain. Ask, who has brought the affairs of this country into the present calamitous state? Who are the men that have plundered and depopulated Bengal? Who are they that have turned a whole continent, inhabited by friends and kindred, into our bitterest enemies? Yes! they who have shorn the strength and cut off the right arm of Britain, were all members of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, all orthodox men. I am not afraid of those tender and scrupulous consciences who are over-cautious of professing or believing too much: if they are sincerely in the wrong, I forgive their errors, and respect their integrity. The men I am afraid of, are the men who believe every thing, who subscribe every thing, and who vote for every thing." —Upon the whole, it appears but too evident, that the final success of the bill, from which the objectionable clause was not suffered to be expunged, must be attributed not to the candor and equity of the court, but to the general spirit and temper of the times, which were at this period happily and strongly at variance with the spirit of persecution and intolerance.

A far more doubtful and difficult subject of

discussion presented itself, in contemplating the state political and commercial of the kingdom of Ireland; which, by the continuance of the present ruinous war, was now reduced to the most extreme and urgent distress. Lord Newhaven, in concert with various other respectable members particularly connected with that kingdom, attempted to revive the propositions of the last year, with some new modifications, but without effect. At length it was carried by a small majority to repeal that clause in the Act of Navigation in favor of Ireland, by which ships coming from the West Indies were compelled to bring their cargoes directly to England. But this indulgence being opposed by the commercial cities of England, on a subsequent motion for the house to resolve itself into a committee, the minister declared himself adverse to the measure, and it was finally lost by a majority of four voices.

A third motion by Mr. Fox, "for the removal of the earl of Sandwich from his majesty's person and councils for ever, was negatived by 221 voices to 118. The HOWES, impatient of the obloquy thrown upon them by the partisans of the court, had earnestly solicited a parliamentary enquiry into their conduct in America; to which the minister at length very reluctantly assented. A multitude of papers were in consequence laid upon

upon the table; and the house resolving itself into a committee of enquiry, lord Cornwallis, sir Charles Grey, sir Guy Carleton, and various other officers of high reputation who had served in America, were examined at the bar of the house; and the result of a long and tedious investigation was in general, "That the force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of that continent; that the people of America were almost unanimous in their enmity and resistance to Great Britain; that the nature of the country was beyond any other difficult and impracticable for military operations; and that there was no fairer prospect of success, in any subsequent attempt at conquest, than in those which had been already made." On the 29th of June, 1779, the committee was suddenly dissolved, without coming to a single resolution on any part of the business.

In the house of lords, the earl of Bristol* moved an address to the king, similar to that of Mr. Fox, for the removal of the earl of Sandwich. His lordship supported this motion in a speech, containing a very extensive display of political and professional knowledge. This nobleman affirmed, "that about seven millions more money had been allotted for the support and increase of our navy during the last seven

* An officer of high rank in the navy, and brother to the late lord privy seal.

years than in any former equal period; and that, during this time, the decrease and decline of the navy had been in an inverse ratio to the excess of the expenditure. While such has been the unbounded liberality of parliament, what, exclaimed the noble lord, is become of our navy? or, if there is no navy, what is become of our money?" The motion was rejected by 78 voices to 39. Notwithstanding these repeated acquittals, the reputation of lord Sandwich suffered not a little, by this succession of attacks, in the estimation of the public.

A short time before the prorogation, a royal message was somewhat unexpectedly delivered to both houses, on a subject of the highest importance, informing them, that a manifesto had been presented to his majesty by the count d'Almodovar, ambassador of the king of Spain, containing a declaration of hostility on the part of the Catholic king, who had in consequence ordered his ambassador to depart without taking leave. The disclosure of this alarming event, so long predicted by the minority, called forth all their powers of eloquence and invective. The ministers were reminded of their blindness, obstinacy, and incredulity on this subject—of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger—and of their repeated and triumphant declarations "that Spain could have no interest in joining our enemies—Spain had colonies

colonies of her own, and would not set so bad an example as to afford aid or succour to our rebellious colonies. The honor, sincerity, and fidelity of the court of Spain were held up as sacred, and thus were parliament and the nation kept in a constant state of delusion until they were awakened from their dream by the imminence of the impending ruin." The address, however, containing the fullest assurances of support, was unanimously agreed to. But a subsequent motion of lord John Cavendish, for the withdrawment of the troops from America, was evaded by a question of adjournment.

In consequence of the acknowledged necessity of new and unprecedented exertions, a plan was formed by the minister for augmenting the militia to double the actual number; and a bill for that purpose passed the commons without difficulty, but met with an unexpected opposition with the lords, and on a division the compulsory clause was thrown out by a majority of 39 to 22 voices; the lord president lord Gower, and both the secretaries of state, giving their votes against it. A solitary provision for raising volunteer companies only remained; and in this state it was returned to the commons, to the great chagrin of the minister, who openly complained of the desertion of his colleagues in office; nor was his mortification lessened by the taunts of the opposition,

sition, who remarked, that the disunion and discord which the administration had been the means of spreading throughout the empire had now seized the cabinet, and was equally visible amongst themselves.

On the 3d of July the king closed the session with a speech, in which his majesty mentioned it as a happy omen of the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties seemed only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation. The memorial of count d'Almodovar, and a long justificatory manifesto subsequently published by the court of Madrid, were filled with heavy complaints of the conduct of the English court for several years past, though certainly grounded on no solid reason; the king of England truly affirming in his message to parliament, "That with regard to Spain he had nothing to reproach himself with; and that his desire to cultivate peace and amity with that power had been uniform and sincere." The court of Madrid pretended, that the insults and *incredible* *violences* offered to the Spanish traders by England, from the year 1776 to the beginning of the present year 1779, were no less than 86 in number, since which other insults and injuries had been offered; so that the whole amount arose to the precise and full complement of one hundred. The only circumstance really important and interesting

interesting in this singular manifesto is the discovery that the mediation of Spain had been offered and accepted by Great Britain and France soon after the commencement of hostilities, and that a negotiation between these two courts had been actually carried on for the space of eight months.

On the 14th of September, immediately subsequent to the arrival of the count d'Almadovar in London, lord Weymouth declared to his excellency, that the king of England most sincerely desired to terminate the present war by the mediation of his Catholic majesty. In consequence of which, the king of Spain, after much discussion, proposed a general truce for a term of years, in order to allow time for the final accommodation of differences. In his ultimatum of the 3d of April, 1778, he offered the city of Madrid for the holding of a general congress for this purpose, to which the colonies should be admitted to send commissioners, and in the mean time to be treated as an independent power; and that a general disarming should take place within one month in Europe, and four months in America; his Catholic majesty offering at the same time his guarantee of the definitive treaty. The manifesto states, " That the court of London objected to recognizing the independency of America during the continuance of the truce; and

and it forcibly urges, as a thing very extraordinary, and even ridiculous, that the minister, lord North, had, notwithstanding this objection, proposed in the English house of commons that the congress should be treated with as the plenipotentiaries of independent states on the very proviso suggested by Spain, that this concession should not be understood to preclude the subsequent possible relinquishment of that independency. The convention of Saratoga, the cartel settled for the exchange of prisoners, the nomination of commissioners to *supplicate* the Americans for peace at their own doors, are, it is asserted, real and unequivocal acknowledgments of the independency of America. The English nation itself is appealed to by his Catholic majesty: 'whether these acts are more consonant with the dignity of the British crown, than would be the granting, at the intercession of his Catholic majesty, a suspension of hostilities for the adjustment of differences, and the treating them in this interval as independent states.' Nevertheless the English court positively refused, as the manifesto proceeds to affirm, its assent to the propositions contained in this ultimatum; declaring, moreover, that France should not interfere in the arrangement of the interests of those she *affects* to call her allies: and, in fine, the English court had the *effrontery* to say, that the drift of
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of Spain was to form, from the pretensions of the colonies to independence, one common cause with them and with France. On the contrary, his Catholic majesty declares, that these last proposals were not even communicated to France before they were transmitted to the court of London; so that the haughty expressions of the English ministry amount merely to this conclusion, 'that, in spite of the overture made by themselves, they prefer war to peace, or a treaty under the mediation of the Catholic king, whom they *provokingly insulted*, treating him as partial, inconsistent, and leagued with the enemies of Great Britain; notwithstanding which his Catholic majesty did not issue orders for reprisals, but in consequence of the actual commencement of hostilities on the part of Great Britain.' Upon the whole it is evident, from the explicit and curious detail of the whole negotiation given in this manifesto, clothed as it is in the stately language of Castilian pride tinged with absurdity, that Spain acted in this business with generosity, openness, and honor. It was undoubtedly determined by both branches of the house of Bourbon, to establish the permanent independency of America; but this SPAIN at least wished to effect without involving herself in a war with England; and the expedient suggested by his Catholic majesty was certainly the wisest

wisest and best which in present circumstances could be adopted : but the pride of the English court was not yet sufficiently humbled to assent to the emancipation of America, though the idea of subjugation became every day more palpably chimerical and extravagant.

During the recess of parliament, the earl of Stormont, late ambassador at Paris, was made secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Suffolk deceased. Viscount Weymouth a second time resigned the seals of the southern department, which were transferred to the earl of Hillsborough ; and earl Bathurst, late chancellor of Great Britain, was nominated president of the council, in the room of earl Gower. The great seal had been consigned, in the course of the preceding year, to the attorney-general Thurlow, created baron Thurlow, a man endowed by nature with uncommon talents, which were concealed, and in effect lost to the world, under an almost impervious veil of moroseness, bigotry, and malevolence.

The state of affairs on the other side of the Atlantic once more demands our attention. The reduction of Georgia by general Prevost and colonel Campbell, though in itself of no great importance, excited just alarm in the inhabitants of the Carolinas, which were protected only by their own militia, and an inconsiderable body of

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continental troops under the command of general Lincoln, who lay encamped at Purisburg, on the north side of the river Savannah, about twenty miles above the town of that name. At the end of April 1779, this officer left that advantageous position, which enabled him effectually to cover the province, and marched along the banks of the river to Augusta, where he expected to be joined by powerful reinforcements; and he hoped, by passing the river, to cut off the communication of general Prevost with the back country, whence he received his supplies. But general Prevost was no sooner apprised of this movement than he determined to pass the Savannah at Purisburg, and make a rapid march towards Charlestown. This, the small force left by general Lincoln to guard the passage of the Savannah was not able to prevent; and the English army, consisting of about 4000 men, including Indians, arrived in the vicinity of that city on the 11th of May. To the chagrin of the English general, he found the place strongly fortified and well secured by the numerous militia which had now collected for its defence. After summoning the city in vain to surrender, he determined, on hearing that general Lincoln was on his march back to Carolina, to decamp that very night, and took post, after some *détours*,

in the island of Port Royal, to the south of Charlestown harbour.

In the mean time sir Henry Clinton was engaged, in conformity to the policy of the English court, whence he derived his instructions, in various predatory expeditions. Sir George Collier and general Matthew, in a descent upon Virginia, burnt the town of Suffolk, and destroyed the vessels, provisions, and stores, found there, and at Gosport, Jenner's Creek, and various other places in that quarter. Sir H. Clinton in person proceeded up the North River, and carried, by great exertions of gallantry, the two important posts of Stoney Point and Verplanks, which the Americans had diligently fortified to preserve the communication between the eastern and western colonies. Another expedition under sir George Collier, governor Tryon commanding the land forces, was projected nearly at the same time against Newhaven in Connecticut, which they plundered, and afterwards proceeded to Fairfield and Norwalk, which they laid in ashes; and also the buildings and farm-houses to the compass of two miles round. At the same time a proclamation was issued by them, declaring "the existence of a single house on the coast to be a striking monument of British mercy." A far more important enterprise was

next

next undertaken by the same officer, for the relief of a fortress lately constructed at the mouth of the river Penobscot, in the eastern confines of New England, and garrisoned by a detachment of king's troops from Nova Scotia. This post had been for some time closely invested by an armament of considerable force from Boston, which was attacked lying in the river, and almost entirely destroyed by sir George Collier, who took two frigates of twenty and eighteen guns, the remainder to the amount of seventeen vessels being stranded and burnt. The superior weight of metal on the part of the English commodore, who hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Raisonné*, of 64 guns, and whose whole squadron consisted of six ships only, far more than counterbalanced the superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy. On the other hand, the Americans were not without their successes. After the capture of Stoney Point and Verplanks by the English, no pains were spared to make them impregnable to the attacks of the enemy; notwithstanding which a plan was formed by the American general Wayne for the surprisal of the former of these posts, which was carried into execution with great resolution on the night of the fifteenth of July. Neither the deep morass in front of the lines, the double rows of abatis, or the incessant and tremendous

fire from the batteries, could damp the ardor of the troops, who, attacking with fixed bayonets, carried the works with resistless intrepidity. The clemency of the conquerors was no less conspicuous than their bravery; for, though they had repeatedly been refused quarter in similar situations, the lives of more than 500 men, who threw down their arms, were generously granted.

In a few days, another British post at Paulus Hook was surprised in a similar manner; but a better defence being made, the Americans, after storming two redoubts, were repulsed, and obliged to retire, not however without carrying off with them near 200 prisoners.

In the West Indies, soon after the defeat of D'Estaing, at St. Lucie, admiral Barrington was joined by admiral Byron; and the English fleet being now superior to that of the French, endeavours were used to force the enemy to a general engagement; but they chose, rather than encounter this risk, to remain inactive in the harbour of Fort Royal. Admiral Byron, however, deeming it expedient to convoy the trade ships collected at St. Christopher's in June, part of their voyage, count d'Estaing took the opportunity of detaching a considerable force to the island of St. Vincent, which surrendered, though garrisoned by seven companies of regular troops, without firing a shot. This is ascribed
to

to the dread entertained of an insurrection of the Caribbs, who still entertained a deep resentment of the injuries they had sustained. The French commander, being now joined by a large reinforcement of ships and troops, sailed with twenty-six ships of the line from Fort Royal in the beginning of July, and steered his course to the island of Grenada, which, though bravely defended by the governor lord Macartney, was compelled in a short time to surrender at discretion. Admiral Byron on his return, receiving intelligence of the capture of St. Vincent's, immediately determined to make an effort for its recovery; but, on his passage thither, heard the still more unwelcome tidings of the attack of Grenada, of which he now resolved to attempt the relief.

On the 6th of July the two fleets came in sight; but the French, having already effected their purpose, were little inclined, notwithstanding their present superiority, to risk a close engagement. A warm but indecisive action ensued between the van divisions of the two fleets, in the course of which the English discovered, to their astonishment, the French colors flying on the fortrefs of St. George. In the result the English fleet bore away for Antigua, and the French returned to Grenada.

Count d'Estaing being fully informed of the

critical situation of the southern provinces of America, now, unexpectedly directing his course to Georgia, made an easy capture of the Experiment of 50 guns, with supplies of various kinds on board for Savannah, and three other frigates which he fell in with on his way.

On the 9th of September he anchored off the mouth of the Savannah, to which general Prevost had again retired, and sent a haughty summons to that officer to surrender to the arms of his Most Christian majesty; to which a spirited answer was returned. The succeeding day, count d'Estaing being joined by general Lincoln, a regular siege commenced, which was sustained with great vigor by general Prevost, assisted by the masterly exertions of colonel Moncrieff, the chief engineer. At length the French commander, being impatient at the slow progress made in the siege, determined upon a general assault; and, after a heavy cannonade, the allies advanced to the attack of the British lines on the morning of the 9th of October. They were every where repulsed with heroic valor. Count d'Estaing himself being wounded in the action, and the troops having sustained great loss, the siege was converted into a blockade, and in a few days entirely raised. A precipitate retreat was made by the Americans, and the count retired to the West Indies; whence he quickly returned

turned to France, much chagrined at the final disappointment of the vast hopes and projects which he had originally formed.

Sir Henry Clinton, alarmed at the intelligence of the arrival of the French fleet on the coast, and expecting an attack on New York, had sent orders to general Pigott for the evacuation of Rhode Island, of which the English had now been in possession three years. But, on being fully certified that the French fleet had departed for the West Indies, he resumed the project which he had formed of a grand expedition against South Carolina. On the 26th of December, 1779, sir Henry Clinton sailed with the greater part of the army from New York, under convoy of a fleet commanded by admiral Arbuthnot; and after a tedious and unprosperous voyage, in which much mischief was done, through the tempestuousness of the weather, to the transports and victuallers, the armament arrived off Charlestown-bar, which the men of war passed with some difficulty on the 20th of March (1780), the water rising only nineteen feet in high spring tides. On the 1st of April the British troops broke ground at the distance of about eleven hundred yards in front of the American lines; which, though no more than field works, the English general, willing to spare the effusion of blood, treated with the respectful

homage of three parallels—and made his advances with great circumspection. It does not appear that any considerable exertions were made by the Americans for the relief of this important place, though defended by general Lincoln in person with a sufficiently numerous garrison; which, if the inhabitants had not shewn an insuperable reluctance to abandon the town, might probably with more advantage have taken the field in conjunction with the expected reinforcements. The second parallel being completed on the 20th of April, it was thought expedient to propose terms of capitulation, on condition of the garrison being allowed to withdraw; but this condition was rejected by the English general without hesitation. In a few days the third parallel being carried within one hundred and fifty yards of the American lines, and preparations being made for a general assault, general Lincoln, on being informed by the engineers that the lines were no longer defensible, seeing no prospect of relief, and the flesh provisions remaining in store not being sufficient to furnish rations for a week, consented to deliver up the city on the terms originally proposed by sir Henry Clinton; in consequence of which, about six thousand men, consisting of continental troops, militia, and sailors, became prisoners of war. This event took place on May
4th,

4th, 1780. During the siege colonel Tarleton, who commanded a legion of cavalry, particularly distinguished himself by the activity and success of his enterprises.

The capital having surrendered, the next object was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants: to this end, a large body of troops under lord Cornwallis marched over the Santee, towards that frontier which borders upon the most populous parts of North Carolina. This movement caused an immediate retreat of such corps as had been there collected for the relief of Charlestown. One of these was unexpectedly attacked and surrounded by Tarleton's legion, which had marched one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours. A very feeble resistance was made, and by far the greater part immediately threw down their arms, and begged for quarter: but a few continuing to fire, the British cavalry were ordered to charge, and a terrible slaughter was made amongst the unarmed and unresisting Americans; and from this time *Tarleton's quarter* became proverbial. Soon after this sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving the command in Carolina to lord Cornwallis.

During these transactions in America much alarm had been created in England by the junction of the fleets of France and Spain, which took place very soon after the delivery of the Spanish

Spanish manifesto. In August, 1779, they entered the channel to the amount of sixty-five ships of the line, accompanied by a cloud of frigates, sloops, and fire-ships. The English fleet, commanded by sir Charles Hardy, who had received no instructions to prevent this formidable junction, being utterly unable to encounter so prodigious a force, was compelled to retire to the narrow part of the Channel, whilst the flags of France and Spain menaced and insulted the English coasts without molestation or control. Plymouth was, by the unaccountable negligence of the ministers, left so entirely destitute of the means of defence, that the docks and shipping in the harbour might have been destroyed without difficulty. Fortunately this was not known to the confederate commanders; and on the approach of the equinox count d'Orvilliers steered his course back to Brest, without effecting anything farther than the capture of the *Ardent* man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. But the most remarkable consequence resulting from the appearance of this vast armament in the British seas, was the extraordinary vigor and resolution with which it suddenly inspired the inhabitants of the kingdom of Ireland, who had hitherto contented themselves with feeble lamentations and unavailing complaints. Seeing themselves in a manner
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abandoned by England, their troops withdrawn, their commerce unprotected, their grievances unredressed, military and mercantile associations began every where to be formed, and in a short time, to the astonishment of the world, an army of fifty thousand volunteers, as if by magic, was created, disciplined, and equipped; and resolutions almost universally passed against the use of British manufactures.

The English ministers, whose fears and apprehensions on this occasion happily supplied their deficiency in justice and liberality, instead of opposing this national rage, furnished the new-raised army with arms from the royal magazines, and thus gave a sanction to a measure which had been adopted without any regard to their consent or approbation. The Irish parliament met on the 12th of October, and, to the usual address brought forward by the courtiers, an amendment was moved and adopted by a great majority, to insert in the body of the address the following words—"We beg leave humbly to represent to your majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a **FREE TRADE**, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." In this the lords concurred; and the addresses were carried up to the lord lieutenant with great parade amidst the acclamations of the people—the duke of Leinster, who commanded the Dublin volunteers, escorting the speaker in person,

son, while the streets were lined with the different military companies on both sides from the parliament house to the castle.

The thanks of both houses were unanimously voted to the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, for their patriotic exertions; and a six months money bill passed the commons, in order to prevent a sudden prorogation.

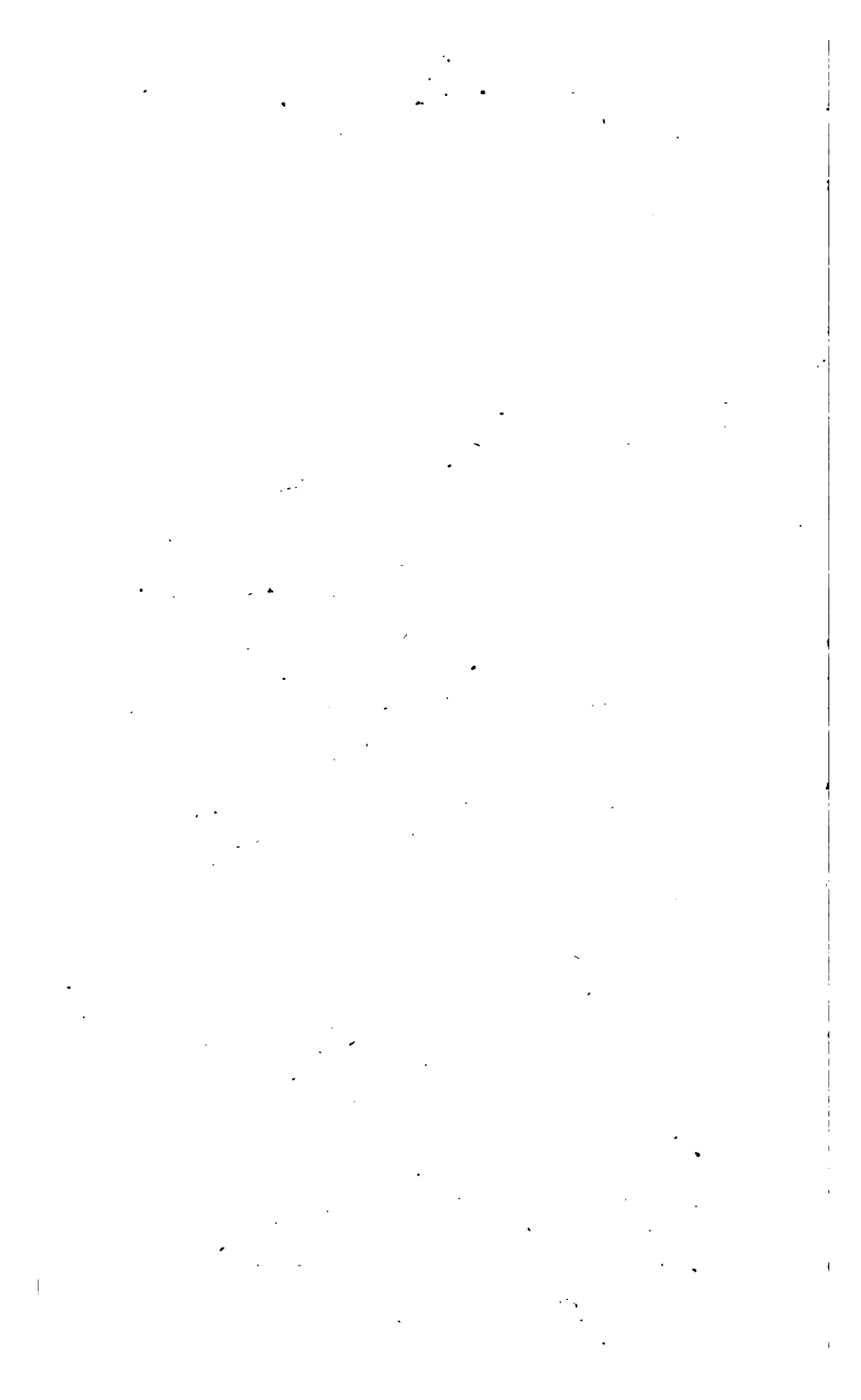
Before we investigate the consequences of this new and alarming spirit, it may be proper to notice a farther occasion of misunderstanding between the courts of London and the Hague, from an encounter which took place in the course of the present summer between sir Richard Pearson of the *Serapis* man of war, accompanied by the Scarborough frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and captain Paul Jones, an adventurer of desperate fortune and desperate courage, who was commander of a small American squadron, which had for some time past infested the British seas. After a very fierce and bloody action, both the *Serapis* and Scarborough, the convoy being first secured, were compelled to strike their colors, and were carried by the captors to the Texel. On this a very strong memorial was presented to the States General by sir Joseph Yorke, who urged in the most pressing terms, "that those ships and their crews may be stopped and delivered up, which the *pirate* Paul Jones, who is a rebel subject

ject and a criminal of the state, has taken." But their High Mightinesses answered, "that they will in no respect whatever pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those who have on the open seas taken any vessels which do not belong to this country, and bring them into any ports of the republic; and that they are not authorised to pass judgment either on those prizes, or on the person of Paul Jones." This was an answer hard of digestion to the English court, and which indeed clearly indicated the partiality of the republic to the cause of America; but the quarrel between the two countries, though evidently growing more and more serious, was not yet sufficiently matured for an actual rupture.

Very early intelligence of the war with France having been sent by express over land to India, the city of Pondicherry was invested by the troops of the Company and of the government, in the autumn of the present year; and, after a gallant resistance by M. de Bellecombe, the governor, it surrendered to the arms of his Britannic majesty. On the other hand, the settlement of Senegal, and the British forts on the river Gambia, were captured by a French squadron under M. de Lauzun.

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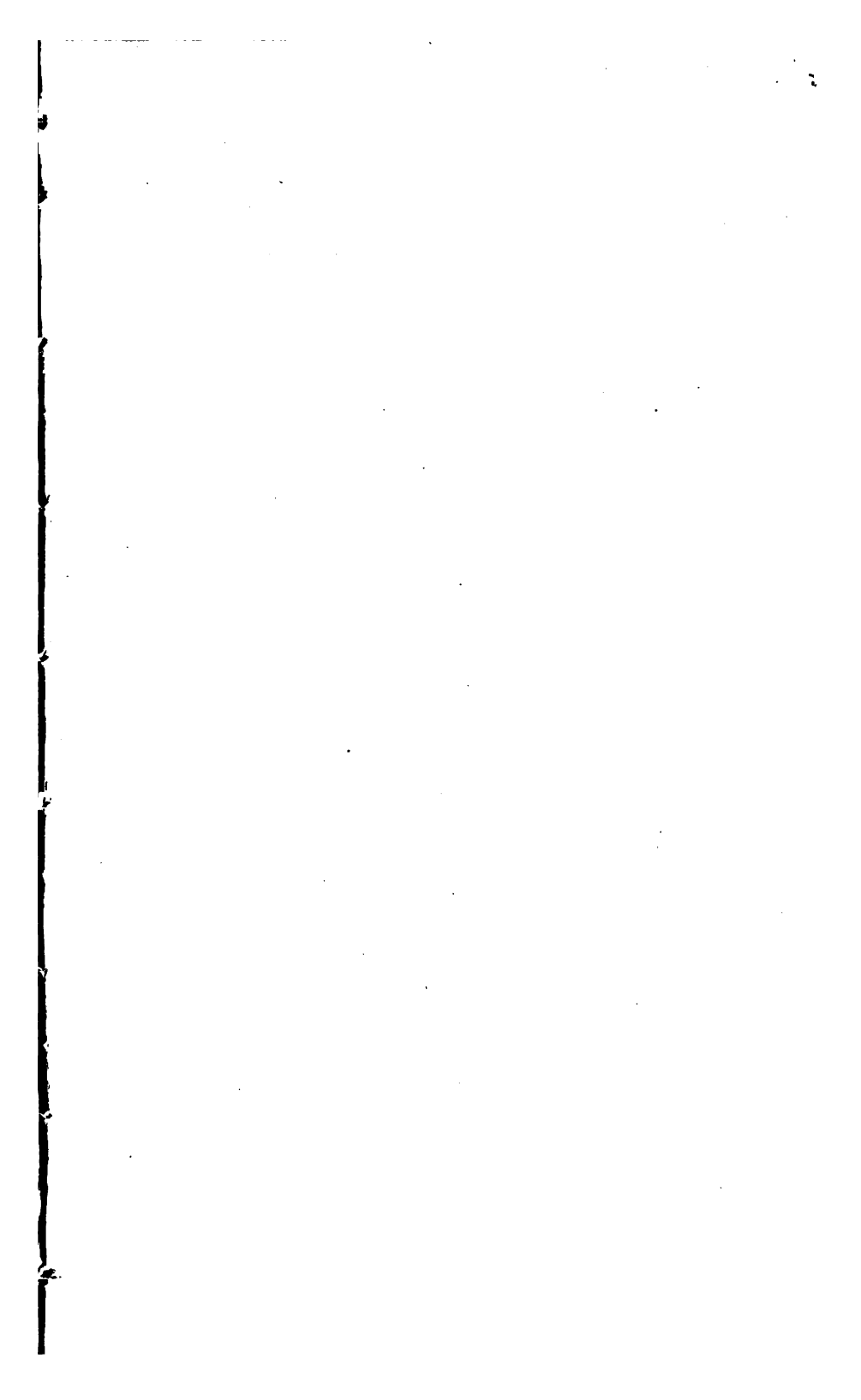


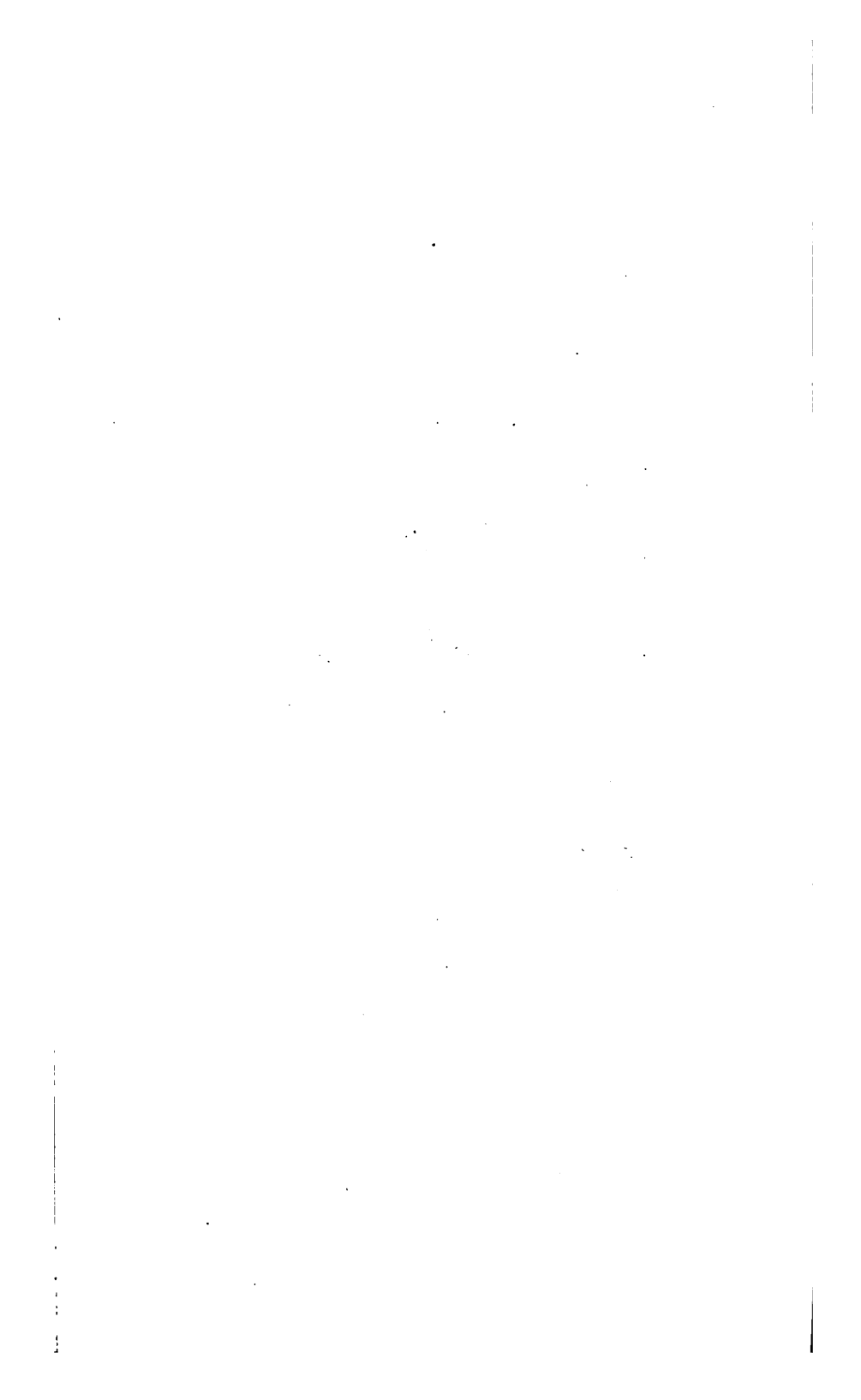




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